

By Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island: Petition of Annabel L. Berry, of Newport, R. I., and Rev. L. L. Daniel, of Providence, R. I., favoring Owen-Palmer child-labor bill; to the Committee on Labor.

Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Rhode Island, favoring passage of bill for censorship of moving pictures; to the Committee on Education.

Also, petition of Arthur Carney, of Providence, R. I., protesting against persecution of Catholic priests and sisters in Mexico; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of J. L. Jenks, of Pawtucket, R. I., favoring Palmer-Owen child-labor bill; to the Committee on Labor.

Also, petition of John J. Shanley, of Providence, R. I., favoring protection for Catholics in Mexico; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Rhode Island, favoring passage of House bill 1864; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. KINKEAD of New Jersey: Petition of Glos Narodn, of Jersey City, N. J., protesting against the Smith-Burnett immigration bill; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. LOBECK: Petition from 94 citizens of Omaha, Nebr., favoring an amendment to our present Federal game law allowing an open season of 20 days in the spring of each year for hunting on rivers, lakes, and streams; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, petition of 150 members of St. Peter's Verein, of Omaha, Nebr., favoring legislation to prohibit export of arms; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. LONERGAN: Letter of Oscar Becker, secretary of St. Stephen's Benevolent Society, Elmwood, Conn., in re legislation prohibiting the sale of munitions of war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. McCLELLAN: Petition of Guy Cochran and Owen Barnard, of Kingston, N. Y., against amendment offered by Representative FITZGERALD to Post Office appropriation bill; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, petition of John Reis and 142 others, of Kingston, N. Y., favoring prohibition of export of munitions of war by the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MAGUIRE of Nebraska: Memorial of 300 members of Teutonia Lodge, of Nebraska City, Nebr., favoring resolution prohibiting export of munitions of war by the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MAHAN: Petitions of sundry citizens of Norwich, Conn., favoring the adoption of House joint resolution 377, to prohibit the export of munitions of war by the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MOORE: Memorial of Philadelphia (Pa.) Board of Trade, protesting against the railway-mail-pay provision of the Post Office appropriation bill; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. SCULLY: Petition of Branch 497 of the Polish National Alliance of the borough of South River, N. J., protesting against Smith-Burnett immigration bill; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. J. M. C. SMITH: Protest of H. A. Stafford and 87 citizens of Kalamazoo, 7 citizens of Grand Rapids, 1 citizen of Martin, and 1 citizen of Comstock, all in the State of Michigan, against amendment to Post Office appropriation bill; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, petition of F. H. Seitz and 25 citizens of Hillsdale, favoring Senate bill 6688, to prohibit export of arms; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. TALCOTT of New York: Petition of Polish National Alliance, Branch No. 447, Utica, N. Y., against Smith-Burnett immigration bill; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, petition of citizens of Little Falls, N. Y.; also of A. B. Russell and D. C. Markham, of Ilion, N. Y., favoring Senate bill 3672, providing for cession to State of New York of certain lands in the bed of the Harlem Ship Canal heretofore ceded to the United States; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. UNDERHILL: Petition of citizens of Los Angeles, Cal., favoring observance of strict neutrality by the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of Branch 1281, Polish National Alliance, Elmira, N. Y., against Smith-Burnett immigration bill; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. VOLLMER: Petition of Federation of Evangelical Brotherhoods of St. Louis, Mo., and M. G. V. Aurora, of Newark, N. J., and 925 American citizens, favoring resolution prohibiting export of war materials; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

## SENATE.

FRIDAY, January 22, 1915.

(Legislative day of Friday, January 15, 1915.)

The Senate reassembled at 11 o'clock a. m., on the expiration of the recess.

## NAMING A PRESIDING OFFICER.

The Secretary (James M. Baker) read the following communication:

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,  
Washington, D. C., January 22, 1915.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. NATHAN P. BRYAN, a Senator from the State of Florida, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

JAMES P. CLARKE,  
President pro Tempore.

Mr. BRYAN thereupon took the chair as Presiding Officer.

## THE MERCHANT MARINE.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 6856) to authorize the United States, acting through a shipping board, to subscribe to the capital stock of a corporation to be organized under the laws of the United States or of a State thereof or of the District of Columbia, to purchase, construct, equip, maintain, and operate merchant vessels in the foreign trade of the United States, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BRYAN in the chair). The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], having preferred a request for a unanimous-consent agreement, the Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Hitchcock	Oliver	Smith, Md.
Bankhead	Hollis	Overman	Smoot
Brady	Johnson	Page	Sterling
Bryan	Jones	Perkins	Stone
Catron	Kenyon	Pittman	Swanson
Chamberlain	Kern	Poindexter	Thomas
Clark, Wyo.	La Follette	Reed	Thompson
Culberson	Lane	Robinson	Thornton
Cummins	Lea, Tenn.	Saulsbury	Townsend
Dillingham	McLean	Shafroth	Vardaman
du Pont	Martin, Va.	Sheppard	Warren
Fletcher	Martine, N. J.	Sherman	White
Gallinger	Myers	Shields	Williams
Gronna	Nelson	Smith, Ga.	

Mr. THORNTON. I was requested to announce the unavoidable absence of the junior Senator from New York [Mr. O'GORMAN]. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Fifty-five Senators have responded to the roll call. There is a quorum present. The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] makes a request for unanimous consent, which the Secretary will state.

The SECRETARY. The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] asks unanimous consent that on Thursday, January 28, 1915, the Senate will vote upon any amendment that may be pending or that may be offered to the bill (S. 6856) to authorize the United States, acting through a shipping board, to subscribe to the capital stock of a corporation, etc., and that before adjournment on that day the Senate will also vote upon the bill itself, through the regular parliamentary stages, to its final disposition.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I object to the proposed unanimous-consent agreement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is made. The pending question is on the motion of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. TOWNSEND], upon which the yeas and nays have been demanded.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. SMOOT. I ask that the question be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will state the bill the consideration of which has been moved by the Senator from Michigan. It is the so-called omnibus claims bill.

The SECRETARY. The pending question is on the motion of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. TOWNSEND] that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill H. R. 8846, its title being "An act making appropriation for payment of certain claims in accordance with findings of the Court of Claims, reported under the provisions of the acts approved March 3, 1883, and March 3, 1887, and commonly known as the Bowman and the Tucker Acts, and under the provisions of section 151 of the act approved March 3, 1911, commonly known as the Judicial Code."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Michigan.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GALLINGER (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from New York [Mr.

O'GORMAN]. He is not in the Chamber and I will for the present withhold my vote.

Mr. SUTHERLAND (when his name was called). Announcing my pair with the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. CLARKE] and its transfer to the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. STEPHENSON], I vote "yea."

Mr. THOMAS (when his name was called). Has the senior Senator from New York [Mr. ROOT] voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not, the Chair is informed.

Mr. THOMAS. I withhold my vote.

Mr. WILLIAMS (when his name was called). Transferring my pair with the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] to the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH], I vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. LEA of Tennessee. I inquire if the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. CRAWFORD] has voted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not.

Mr. LEA of Tennessee. I have a pair with that Senator and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. THOMAS. I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from New York [Mr. ROOT] to the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS] and vote "nay."

Mr. GALLINGER. I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from New York [Mr. O'GORMAN] to the senior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BRANDEGEE] and vote "yea."

Mr. HOLLIS. I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Maine [Mr. BURLEIGH] to the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HUGHES] and vote "nay."

Mr. SIMMONS (after having voted in the negative). I observe that the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. CLAPP], with whom I have a general pair, is not in the Chamber. I transfer my pair with that Senator to the Senator from Maryland [Mr. LEE] and allow my vote to stand.

Mr. WEEKS (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. JAMES], who, I understand, has not voted. I transfer my pair to the Senator from California [Mr. WORKS] and let my vote stand.

Mr. GALLINGER. I have been requested to announce the following pairs:

The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL] with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. CHILTON];

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF] with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN]; and

The Senator from North Dakota [Mr. McCUMBER] with the Senator from Nevada [Mr. NEWLANDS].

The result was announced—yeas 28, nays 38, as follows:

#### YEAS—28.

Bankhead	Dillingham	Nelson	Smoot
Brady	du Pont	Oliver	Sterling
Burton	Gallinger	Page	Sutherland
Camden	Gronna	Perkins	Townsend
Catron	Jones	Polindexter	Vardaman
Clark, Wyo.	Lodge	Sherman	Warren
Colt	McLean	Shields	Weeks

#### NAYS—38.

Ashurst	Johnson	Pittman	Smith, Md.
Bryan	Kenyon	Pomerene	Stone
Chamberlain	Kern	Ransdell	Swanson
Cuberson	La Follette	Reed	Thomas
Cummins	Lane	Robinson	Thompson
Fletcher	Martin, Va.	Saulsbury	Thornton
Gore	Martine, N. J.	Shafroth	White
Hardwick	Myers	Sheppard	Williams
Hitchcock	Norris	Simmons	
Hollis	Overman	Smith, Ga.	

#### NOT VOTING—30.

Borah	Fall	McCumber	Smith, Mich.
Brandegee	Goff	Newlands	Smith, S. C.
Bristow	Hughes	O'Gorman	Stephenson
Burleigh	James	Owen	Tillman
Chilton	Lea, Tenn.	Penrose	Walsh
Clapp	Lee, Md.	Root	Works
Clarke, Ark.	Lewis	Shively	
Crawford	Lippitt	Smith, Ariz.	

So Mr. TOWNSEND's motion was rejected.

Mr. GRONNA. I am directed by the Joint Committee on Federal Aid in the Construction of Post Roads to submit a report, and ask to have it printed. I request unanimous consent to submit the report at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. SMOOT. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is made. The pending question is on the amendment of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE].

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I listened with more than ordinary interest to the lecture delivered by the senior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] last evening. In so far

as I am concerned, I would not keep my Democratic friends in the Chamber by force, if I could, and I could not if I would. I very earnestly hope that they will remain and hear what I have to say, for I frankly confess that it would be a high inspiration and a great encouragement if they were to do me the honor to listen to the observations I am about to make; but if they are of the opinion that the monition of the President is controlling or that the Secretary of the Treasury has said the last and only word upon this great subject, then I must suffer the consequences of that conclusion.

I desire, however, that it shall be distinctly understood that whatever other Senators may regard to be their duty, for myself I intend to discuss this measure in a legitimate way, without the slightest thought or intention of unduly prolonging the debate.

Mr. President, my observations upon the bill now under consideration will, in the main, be confined to an examination of the measure itself and a discussion of the obvious reasons for its rejection; but inasmuch as it is a part of the program which the President has prepared for Congress and is claimed by him to be a long stride in a highly progressive movement which he is leading, and inasmuch as I look upon it as one of the most reactionary and dangerous proposals ever made public, I intend in the very beginning to inquire into the title of this administration to the character and reputation which the Chief Executive so confidently asserts.

Mr. President, it is not my purpose at this time to add another reply to the President's unfortunate speech at Indianapolis, although I shall feel compelled to refer to certain parts of it in discussing the extraordinary proposal for the purchase or construction and the operation of merchant ships now before the Senate. I permit no man to go before me in devotion to the principles of the Republican Party, and naturally any legitimate thing which tends toward the restoration of the party to national power awakens more than a passing interest.

There is much in the address to which I have referred which, as a mere partisan, I read with the utmost satisfaction, for no one will long doubt that its effect has been, and will continue to be, to strengthen the Republican cause. I confess, however, that when I had finished it my pleasure as a partisan was lost in my disappointment and regret as a citizen. Its general tone is so far below the standard which, happily for the people of the country, has been established for a presidential utterance that the common conclusion must be that we have fallen upon evil days if the Chief Executive of a great Nation believes that such a deliverance can either advance or steady an administration already tottering toward its fall. I predict that it will pass into history as a lamentable attempt of a President to forget the courtesy and dignity always looked for in one who occupies the most exalted office in the world, and the dismal effort of a man of mature age to change the habit of a lifetime in order to win momentary applause. Before I close I may take occasion to present some proof of the criticism I have just made, but at this moment I desire only to refer to his argument, if it may be called one, upon the bill we are now considering. The President said:

Do you know, gentlemen, that the ocean freight rates have gone up in some instances to ten times their ordinary figure, and that the farmers of the United States—those who raise grain and those who raise cotton, these things that are absolutely necessary to the world as well as to ourselves—can not get any profit out of the great prices that they are willing to pay for these things on the other side of the sea because the whole profit is eaten up by the extortionate charges for ocean carriage? In the midst of this the Democrats propose a temporary measure of relief in a shipping bill.

The merchants and the farmers of this country must have ships to carry their goods, and just at the present moment there is no other way of getting them than through the instrumentality that is suggested in the shipping bill; and I hear it said in Washington on all hands that the Republicans in the United States Senate mean to talk enough to make the passage of that bill impossible.

#### SAYS MINORITY DEFILES NATION.

These self-styled friends of business, these men who say the Democratic Party does not know what to do for business, are saying that the Democrats shall do nothing for business. I challenge them to show their right to stand in the way of the release of American products to the rest of the world. Who commissioned them, a minority, a lessening minority? For they will be in a greater minority in the next Senate than in this. You know it is the peculiarity of that great body that it has rules of procedure which make it possible for a minority to defy the Nation; and these gentlemen are now seeking to defy the Nation and prevent the release of American products to the suffering world, which needs them more than it ever needed them before. Their credentials as friends of business and friends of America will be badly discredited if they succeed.

In this connection it is interesting to note what the President says of the general make-up and permanent purposes of the two great political parties. I quote again:

What seems to me perfectly evident is this, that if you made a rough reckoning you would have to admit that only about one-third of the Republican Party is progressive; and you would also have to admit that about two-thirds of the Democratic Party is progressive. Therefore the



independent progressive voter finds a great deal more company in the Democratic ranks than in the Republican ranks.

SOME DEMOCRATS HOLDING BACK.

I say a great deal more because there are Democrats who are sitting on the breeching strap; there are Democrats who are holding back. There are Democrats who are nervous. I dare say they were born with that temperament. And I respect the conservative temper. I claim to be an animated conservative myself, because being a conservative I understand to mean a man not only who preserves what is best in the Nation but who sees that in order to preserve it you dare not stand still, but must move forward. For the virtue of America is not static; it is dynamic. All the forces of America are forces in action or else they are forces of inertia.

These extracts, Mr. President, furnish an excellent perspective for the picture, drawn by the President of progressivism in the abstract and of its application to a particular subject. Whether I am entitled to the honorable distinction of a Progressive Republican I leave others to say, but I have been so classified—by some in terms of compliment, by some in terms of disparagement. Without passing upon the validity of my own title, I am connected closely enough with the movement out of which the name grew to feel a profound interest in the subject brought forward by the President in praise of his administration and in censure of those who are unwilling to accept either his definition or his application of the spirit of progressivism in the government of the people of the United States.

I have faithfully attempted to rid myself of all partisanship in the work of the Senate. I have voted sometimes against the administration and sometimes with it; but it is my deliberate judgment that, taken as a whole, the course of the President has in two years turned back the hands upon the dial of progress so far that his party will not again be intrusted with the timepiece of the twentieth century. His primary understanding of a progressive is one who has the disposition to be doing something, and I quite agree with him that a progressive is a man who has the courage to go straight forward, without fear or favor, trying to better the institutions and laws of his country; but a man can be just as busy doing wrong things as right things, and the progressive must not only be willing to do things but they must be the right things; that is to say, they must tend toward justice, opportunity, equality, humanity, and prosperity.

The fact that the quotations I have already read have been made a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, a part of the proceedings of the Senate, gives me a right to inquire into the character of the administration and its influence upon the affairs of the country.

Before mentioning the legislation and policies which have signaled our public affairs during the last two years I must be permitted to repeat what I have many times declared, both here and elsewhere: The country can and will speedily recover from the immediate effects of unwise legislation and mistaken policies, but the attitude of the President toward Congress and his usurpation of legislative power have inflicted a wound upon our institutions which may never heal. No one can be unconscious of the humiliating truth that the spectacle of a President whipping Congress, not only into quick action but into the particular action which he commands, has furnished vast amusement, possibly pleasure, not only to the unthinking and superficial but to some thoughtful men who had become discouraged with our slow pace; but they will all learn sometime that the remedy for legislative inactivity or dereliction is not a dictator. They will discover, and that speedily, that the true remedy is with the people themselves, and that it ought to be applied when they select their Senators and Representatives in Congress.

I trust that my friends upon the other side of the Chamber will not think that I am disparaging them, either individually or collectively, when I say that every measure of general interest and of great importance which we have considered since the 4th of March, 1913, or which is now on our calendar for consideration, with the possible exception of the tariff bill, has been initiated in the White House or in the office of a Cabinet minister. No Member of Congress, whether belonging to one party or the other, has even dared to hope that he, either singly or in concert with his fellow Members, could originate a law of any considerable import.

However energetic or patriotic we may be in bringing forward bills, we know that if they mark a real advance they die in the archives of a committee. Not only does all legislation of the kind I have described originate with the Executive, but there is promulgated from time to time an Executive order of business, and we are bound not alone to confine our work to the bills which have been issued by the Executive, but we must consider them in the way prescribed in his program. I do not inquire what influence has been employed to bring about this deplorable result. There will come a day, and there will

be a forum for the examination of that vital question. I only know that somehow the substantial legislative power has been transferred from the Capitol to the White House. Somehow the spirit of our institutions has been transformed and the legislative branch of the Government has become a mere recorder. What the President really wants is a journal clerk instead of a Congress. We still retain our physical liberty, and so long as we are tractable I assume we will be permitted to enjoy it, but as a legislative body we have for the time being passed out of existence.

Our forefathers, or as many of them as were attached to representative government, understood better than we seem to understand that the liberty of the people, the endurance of free institutions, and the success of their undertaking depended upon the rigid separation of the three branches of the Government. It never entered their minds that any President would ever think of himself as the captain of a team made up of Members of Congress. They made him Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, but they never dreamed that he would ever assume to be commander in chief of the Congress of the Republic they were establishing. I have heard it said upon the floor of the Senate, and not long ago, that the President is a part of the lawmaking power of the United States. I deny it with all the emphasis of which I am capable. He has the constitutional authority to withhold his approval from an act of Congress which under some circumstances prevents it from becoming effective, but the veto power is in no proper sense a lawmaking power. The best that can be said of it is that it is a relic of antiquity which long ago ought to have been cast aside and allowed to take its place with other discarded doctrines which mark the passage of civilization from the rule of kings to the supremacy of the people. We have kept it, however, and as a law-abiding man I am not complaining of the exercise of the authority, but I must protest when it is ranked as a legislative prerogative.

Even were I to agree that the President is a part of the law-making power the suggestions I have made would lose none of their force, for if the President is a lawmaker the functions of the White House do not begin until the work at the Capitol ends.

I have made these comments upon the attitude of the Executive toward Congress in order to inquire whether it is a progressive or a reactionary attitude. The answer plainly is that, so far from being progressive, so far from being in harmony with the forward thought of the time, it is medieval in its character and vitally destructive in its tendency. It is, of course, possible that an administration following such a tendency might promote and secure the legislation which a rapidly developing country requires for its safety and welfare, and I turn for a brief moment to remark upon what has been actually accomplished.

It is a pleasure to say that the President and his Cabinet advisers have in certain respects accurately and comprehensively understood the movement in the country for many reforms of the highest importance. They have with great skill, in their messages and speeches, recognized that many changes in our laws were necessary, pledging themselves that the demands of the people should be met and fulfilled. These progressive declarations, full of honeyed words and sweet phrases, were poured out so lavishly that for a little while the people were inclined to believe that a genuine progressive administration had been installed in Washington. For a brief period they were so blinded with the glitter of the promise that they could not see clearly the character of the performance. They are now discovering that while the voice was the voice of Jacob, the hand was the hand of Esau. They are now realizing that asking for bread they were given a stone. A prospectus, while quite necessary, will not of itself make any administration progressive.

The President's view seems to be that the three great measures of his administration will be:

First. The tariff law, which he declares has emancipated business and given freedom to individual energy and enterprise.

Second. A Federal reserve act, which, as he looks at it, will furnish the lifeblood of production, trade, and commerce.

Third. The bill now before us, which, as he states, will enable emancipated business and unshackled enterprise, invigorated by the streams of capital which will flow from the Federal reserve banks, to enjoy their new-found liberty upon the high seas.

When the President insisted upon a revision of the tariff law he unquestionably appealed to an overwhelming progressive sentiment; but when he and his followers revised the tariff law, as it was revised in 1913, they forfeited their leadership. I believe that a majority of the people of the United States wanted a reduction in many of the duties of the Republican tariff law of 1909, but these same people believed in the policy



of protection, and they understood the danger of the reduction below that point and were conscious of the disasters that would fall upon us if, under the guise of reducing tariff duties, the doctrine of adequate protection should be abandoned. What was done? The administration deliberately proceeded to repudiate the policy which had become a part of our institutions, and instead of going forward in response to the progressive thought of the country it returned to the dark ages, resurrected an exploded, discredited, discarded theory of political economy, and enacted a tariff law which was fast destroying production in this country, which was robbing millions of men of their opportunity to earn a living, until its ravages were somewhat checked by the war which has, for the time being, paralyzed the industrial activities of Europe. There are yet more idle men in the United States than we have seen since 1896, and it is safe to say that when normal conditions again prevail in Europe the disasters of the tariff law will reach their climax. It is worse than pretense; it is more than audacity; it approaches deceit, and is akin to conscious wrongdoing for any man to refer to the Democratic tariff law as the end toward which the progressive movement was leading the way.

It is likewise true that the prevailing belief among the people was that our banking and currency law was susceptible of improvement, and that it ought to be amended so that the currency of the country could not in times of stress and storm be controlled by a few men who could use their power for their own gain. These people also believed that there were times in almost every year when the ordinary volume of currency was insufficient, and that something should be done to temporarily enlarge its volume. Very much had been done in this direction before the present administration came into power, but there still remained much to be done to make the reform effective and adequate. When the President recognized this duty he was a progressive, but in order to make his title good to that distinction it was not enough to hear the cry for relief, for under the guise of rendering help it was entirely possible to forge the chains which were already clanking on every hand still more securely upon those who had felt the servitude of the existing system. This is just what has been done. While here and there the banking and currency law may work well its general effect will be to add strength to those already too strong, to authorize combinations in capital which in any other field of commercial or industrial activity the law denounces as a crime. There is not a line or a letter in it which has helped or can help those who most need assistance. The whole purpose which inspired the movement for a new law upon that subject has been defeated, and yet it is paraded before the country as an evidence of a progressive administration.

I come at last to the bill now under consideration. Every patriotic citizen of the United States is praying for the day that will see American merchant fleets upon the ocean. Every true-hearted son of the Republic wants to see his flag in every port borne by ships which are doing our share of ocean transportation. We desire this development, not to meet the emergency of a war, but as a permanent condition in transportation on the sea. I have no hesitation in granting the President's progressiveness in recognizing this overpowering desire and universal hope, but if the bill now under consideration should become a law we will have imposed upon the people the most reactionary, indefensible legislation which, so far as my knowledge goes, has ever appeared in Congress. To establish the conclusion I have just expressed, I intend to review the measure, first, from the standpoint of our constitutional power, and, second, from the standpoint of its practical operation if it were to become a law.

Mr. President, I assume that those who prepared this bill understood that if it has a constitutional foundation it will be found in that clause of the Constitution which confers upon Congress power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, among the States, and with the Indian tribes; and therefore the very first inquiry that must occur to any man who either loves the laws of his country or reveres the Constitution under which we are assembled here must be this: Is this a regulation of commerce with foreign nations?

Bearing these propositions in mind, let us examine the means employed to reach the end; and here I solicit, I really desire, the impartial consideration of the suggestions I am about to make by every man in the Senate who values the history of his country, who understands the perils through which our Constitution came and who believes that we ought to be a law-abiding body. Let us examine the bill in order to ascertain how we are to reach the end, which is to regulate commerce with foreign nations. If I make any error in the analysis of the bill which I now propose to lay before the Senate, I trust,

if it be found, in accordance with the rules of this body, that some one present will correct me.

First. The United States finds a corporation organized under the laws of a State, with an authorized capital of not more than \$10,000,000. The constitutionality of the measure must, of course, be ascertained and tested by the things that may be done under the proposed law, not the things that necessarily will be done. I repeat that the first fault in the bill is that somebody unknown, somewhere unknown, will organize a corporation under the laws of a State with an authorized capital of \$10,000,000.

Second. The Government, through a shipping board, which is established in the bill and which consists of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Postmaster General, will subscribe at least 51 per cent of the authorized capital of the organization so organized under the laws of a State.

Third. The United States, through the shipping board, buys or builds merchant ships costing not more than \$30,000,000, and sells them to the corporation so organized under the laws of a State, accepting the obligations of the corporation for the purchase price, namely, the cost to the United States.

Fourth. These ships and any others which the corporation may acquire while employed as merchant vessels are private ships, subject to all the laws and regulations which control other ships in the foreign trade.

Fifth. These ships, while entitled to an American registry, are not compelled or required to take an American registry. They may, if the corporation, the private corporation organized under the laws of the State, so decides, sail under a foreign flag.

Sixth. The corporation thus provided with a fleet of merchant vessels either purchased from the United States or by purchase elsewhere, or by construction or by charter, proceeds during its authorized life to do business as a common carrier upon the high seas.

The act contains a provision that the object of the corporation must be the acquirement and operation of a fleet to meet the requirements of the foreign commerce of the United States, but this does not limit its use to such commerce. It merely requires that the fleet shall be adapted to the commerce of the United States. It also contains the provision intended to exclude these ships from our coastwise trade except as to three ports.

Seventh. The corporation may have private stockholders to the extent of 49 per cent, and the Government, with the approval of Congress, may at any time sell all or any part of the stock it so holds.

Eighth. Next, we have no existing law for the regulation of rates of foreign transportation, and this bill provides for none.

I may pause here a moment to describe just what the influence of the United States would be so far as the regulation of foreign commerce is concerned. I repeat, this bill does not suggest any regulatory rule respecting our foreign commerce. It simply authorizes the United States to become a stockholder in a corporation organized somewhere, and assumes that the operation of that corporation will be a regulation of our commerce with foreign nations. There is not a line or a letter in the bill, nor could there be, determining what the corporation shall do, how it shall do it, what charges it shall make, or between what ports its boats should ply.

I desire it to be thoroughly impressed upon those who have reflected at all upon this subject and given it any study that there is not in the bill the faintest indication of an intent to control or to regulate our commerce with foreign nations except in so far as the mere presence of a corporation a portion of whose stock is held by the United States effects a regulation of that commerce.

It, of course, will be conceded that this influence could only be exerted through the vote of the shipping board in meetings of the stockholders of the corporation. The only influence which the Government can exert over this frankenstein thus launched upon the seas of commerce or thus floated upon the seas of business in the United States is the influence of a vote in a meeting of the stockholders.

If that were sufficient, there is no guide, there is no rule, there is no restriction, there is no suggestion given in this law to the shipping board with regard to the manner of the regulation, of what it shall consist, or what it shall accomplish.

Again I say if I err with regard to my analysis of this bill, and it can be done under the rules of the Senate, I trust that those who are interested in the subject will correct me.

The Government has by this bill, as I said a moment ago, no other power over the management of the corporation than it



can exercise by voting its stock at a stockholders' meeting, and no rule of any kind is prescribed for these officers of the Government who are to constitute the shipping board and who vote the stock.

Ninth. The directors of the corporation must necessarily be chosen from the minority stockholders if the laws of the State under which the corporation is organized require, as the laws of nearly every State do require, that a director in order to be eligible for his office shall be a stockholder of the corporation. These directors can not be officers of the United States and can not be bound to the performance of any public duty.

According to our general understanding, I think that what I have said will conform to the information we have with respect to the laws of the several States. The directors manage the corporation. The first article in nearly every charter is one which declares that the board of directors shall manage the affairs of the corporation. They are chosen for that purpose. They exercise all the power of the corporation within the limits of the charter.

These directors are private persons. They will determine what ships shall be bought. Aside from the original purchase of the \$30,000,000 of ships they will decide what ships shall be bought. They will decide what business, what particular part of the commerce of the world, these ships shall undertake. They will decide what commodities the ships shall carry. They will decide what rates shall be exacted of those who employ the services of the ships. There is nothing, there is not one line or letter, in this bill that gives to the Government of the United States, either through the Interstate Commerce Commission or any other body created by our laws, the authority to supervise, to regulate, to determine, to modify in any manner at all the rates which may be established by the directors of this corporation.

Remember that these directors are not in the service of the United States. They are not servants of the people. They are bound by none of the obligations which surround an officer of the United States. They are free to manage and control this corporation precisely as they will, or as they believe it to be managed for the best interests of the corporation, and are restrained only, and can be restrained only, by the indirect fear or apprehension that at the end of their terms the shipping board may find it desirable to supplant them with other directors, also chosen from private life.

Tenth. The officers of the corporation must be private persons whose obligation it will be to promote the financial welfare of this corporation. I say, whose obligation it will be. It is an obligation, and they can not escape it. Assume that there are \$4,900,000 of private stockholders, what are their rights in relation to their officers, or rather what is the obligation of the directors and the officers of the corporation toward the minority holding in the corporation? The corporation is organized for pecuniary profit. That is the reason for its existence. It comes into being under a law. The law is for the creation of a corporation for pecuniary profit, and its officers are bound not only by their consciences but by the law to so conduct the corporation that it shall be profitable to the men who have invested their money in it. If these officers were to be so far under the influence of the shipping board that they would follow the advice, not the lawful advice, because the shipping board in giving that advice would not be executing the law, it would be unofficial advice; but if the officers were so far under fear that at the end of a year or two years, whenever their terms might expire, they would be displaced, as to accept the suggestions of the shipping board or its individual members, then if that advice should be that this corporation as a regulatory corporation, as one whose office it was to see that the people of the United States, as a whole, received some benefit from this act of Congress, and if they were asked to sacrifice the pecuniary interest in the corporation for the general good, and were to follow that advice, they could be, and they ought to be, instantly checked by the law of the land which creates an obligation upon the part of the directors and officers to conduct the corporation in a way that will insure a profit for those who have invested their capital in it.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to his colleague?

Mr. KENYON. May I ask my colleague a question?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield for a question.

Mr. KENYON. I am a little curious to know where these directors are coming from. With 51 per cent of this stock owned by the Government, I think it is pretty generally conceded that no private parties will subscribe for the stock. Ordinarily a director must own some stock. If there are no parties owning 49 per cent of the stock, where are the directors

coming from? Where are the officers coming from? Has the Senator any theory about that?

Mr. CUMMINS. I have a theory about it, but I hardly venture to state it. If there are no minority stockholders under this bill, it then becomes wholly unworkable; there could not be an organization of the corporation, for if it were organized under the laws of a State which requires a director to be a stockholder there would be no eligible persons to receive the office of director. I do not quite agree—

Mr. FLETCHER. May I interrupt the Senator?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Florida?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield to the Senator for a question.

Mr. FLETCHER. I wish to interrupt the Senator to inquire whether he finds fault with the operation of the Panama Railroad Co., the stock of which is owned by the Government and is voted by the Secretary of War as trustee. The shares are transferred, I understand, to a sufficient number of people to qualify them as directors and the stock of the Government is voted, the directors are elected. That corporation is operating under that system, and I ask the Senator if he thinks it is objectionable.

Mr. CUMMINS. Yes, Mr. President.

Mr. FLETCHER. I do not mean to indicate that that may be the practice here.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I have some familiarity with the Panama Railroad Co. and its operations. I am not prepared to affirm the legality of many of the things that have been done through the Panama Railroad Co. or by it. But the situation with regard to that enterprise was wholly different. The United States was buying the property of the French Panama Co. A part of that property consisted of stock of the Panama Railway, and as a part of our general purchase we became the owner of a large majority of the stock of that company. Of course, there is no question about our right to buy that stock considering its relation to the property which we did purchase and to our authority to construct the Panama Canal; but the Senator from Florida will remember that the United States immediately proceeded to purchase all of the stock of the Panama Railroad Co. within a very few months, as I remember it, and before the work had begun the United States had become the owner of all the stock of that company. Thereafter the company was regarded as a mere fiction, a mere instrumentality through which the United States might carry on its work upon the Isthmus of Panama.

Just how the United States found directors and officers who could qualify under the laws of the State of New York I do not know, nor is it material to inquire, for if it was wrongfully or unconstitutionally done in that instance, we ought not to repeat, under different circumstances, the mistake we made there. Personally I have believed for a long while that the United States ought to get rid of the Panama Railroad Co. and ought to do directly the work which it is doing indirectly; but the danger is reduced probably to a negligible consideration in view of the fact that the United States does own all the stock of the company.

The suggestion of the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER], however, does not aid in the removal of the objection which has just been pointed out by my colleague [Mr. KENYON]. This bill does not qualify any officer or employee of the Government to become a director; it does not qualify any officer or employee to become an officer of the company; and therefore it goes without saying that when these directors are chosen and when these officers are chosen they will represent the minority of the stockholding interest in the proposed corporation. If they do not, of course they will be mere dummies without substantial existence.

I am not so sure as my colleague seems to be that there will be no minority stockholders. I think there will be minority stockholders. I believe there are men and corporations waiting now to subscribe toward the 49 per cent of the stock of this corporation which will be offered to the public. I think they understand just how they can reap a profit from the enterprise.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I should have said, I think, "good-faith stockholders." I am not ready to contend that there might not be minority stockholders for ulterior purposes, but there will be no good-faith stockholders in the proposition not to make money.

Mr. CUMMINS. There will be no private stockholders, in my opinion, who become such with the hope of legitimate profit in the operation of the ships; but there will be stockholders, as I predict, who will acquire the stock, believing that in the purchase of ships they may realize fortunes. Moreover, there may be stockholders who will enter into that relation because they know that, before a long period elapses, the Government of the



United States will desire to sell the stock for which it now subscribes, and then they may be able to discover a way to profit in the enterprise.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield to the Senator for a question.

Mr. BORAH. I take it, then, that that class of minority stockholders would be composed only of that class of men who stood in a position, governmentally or otherwise, to direct the purchase of ships and to control the business of the corporation by reason of their position?

Mr. CUMMINS. I think so. When I come to discuss the practical aspects of this measure, I shall point out what I think are the evils which will be encountered in the Government going into partnership with capitalists who could be persuaded or who could see their way clear to acquiring stock in this corporation.

I think, for instance, if Kuhn, Loeb & Co. were to subscribe for 49 per cent of the stock which is open to the public—and this is a mere hypothetical case, of course; I instance them because they are men of great influence and power, and are now masters of finance and captains of industry—if they were to become the owners of 49 per cent of the stock of this company, I just want you to imagine the scene, the spectacle of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., with 49 per cent of the stock, sitting down in an office consulting with, negotiating with, or conferring with the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Postmaster General with regard to the proper conduct of the corporation, who should be its directors, who should be its officers, in what trade the ships should engage, and upon what rates and terms the ships should do business. Assuming that the present Secretary of the Treasury, the present Secretary of Commerce, and the present Postmaster General are far above temptation, assuming that the Secretary of the Treasury is as pure in his morals as he is in his logic, yet he will not be Secretary of the Treasury always; the present Secretary of Commerce will have to give way sometime to a mere mortal; the Postmaster General must sometime surrender his vast power to one who might want to use it for a selfish purpose; and I ask the Senate of the United States, and the country, just to think of a conference or consultation, a meeting of the stockholders of this company held in that way. If you desire to bring the name of the United States into reproach; if you desire to surround it with clouds of scandal and suspicion; if you desire to destroy it as a great governing body, and to subject it to the influences which are dominant in trade and commerce, then this bill ought to be passed, and it ought to provide for that relationship which must necessarily grow out of its terms.

I may have projected myself a little bit into a later part of my speech. I was considering the constitutional phases of the proposal, and I will come back to that.

Remember that our power is "to regulate commerce with foreign nations." That is all the power we have so far as this bill is concerned. Remember, as I have pointed out, that when selection is made of the officers and directors who are to manage and control the corporation to be created, it is their management, their control of the corporation which is to effect the regulation of commerce, and that the only influence which the United States has over the conduct and the management of the corporation is its influence as a stockholder in the selection of directors and officers.

Mr. President, I have now submitted to the Senate what I believe to be a fair analysis of the bill from the standpoint of the Constitution; indeed, I think it is the only analysis of the bill; and I ask this question—and it is not one from which my friends upon the other side dare shrink; it is not possible that upon this subject they will accept the direction of the President or that they will indorse the rather crude constitutional views which are held by the Secretary of the Treasury. It is true that the Secretary of the Treasury believes it to be entirely within our power. Upon what ground does he base that belief? He said in his speech at Chicago that if any business in this country proved to be unprofitable in private hands and it was for the welfare of the country generally that the business should be carried on, it was not only within the power of the Government of the United States to carry it on, but it was its duty to undertake it and carry it forward.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, at the present rate of doing that would it not inevitably lead to public ownership of business affairs?

Mr. CUMMINS. Undoubtedly, Mr. President. I will show a little later what I think about Government ownership. I do not fear it in every respect as very many people do. I do not

believe in it until we have used every effort within the limits of the Constitution and within the limits of our integrity and intelligence to regulate in some other way; but if regulation fails then I see no other conclusion but that the Government itself must accept the responsibility.

The Secretary of the Treasury, however, seems hardly content with that view. I did not intend to do it at this point, but I think I will read just a paragraph from his address at Chicago, which the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] declared to be the only thing that can be said about this subject, and that we are extremely unreasonable and, indeed, revolutionary to think of questioning anything that was here declared or of continuing the debate after he had spoken. He said:

The objection that the shipping bill puts the Government in the shipping business is not tenable. Those who urge it—

I hope the Senator from Idaho will listen, because it is rather a novel proposal in a field with which the Senator from Idaho is very familiar, the constitutional field.

Mr. BORAH. Is the Senator reading from the Secretary of the Treasury?

Mr. CUMMINS. I am now reading an extract from the speech of the Secretary of the Treasury in Chicago, delivered on January 9 of the present year. I repeat:

The objection that the shipping bill puts the Government in the shipping business is not tenable. Those who urge it seem to forget that it is the duty of the Government to engage in any activities, even of a business nature, which are demanded in the interest of all the people of the country, when it is impossible to engage private capital in such operations.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield for a question.

Mr. BORAH. I was going to say that I had the pleasure of reading that speech, and I took that statement as a piece of humor. [Laughter.]

Mr. CUMMINS. Well, Mr. President, I really hope that the Secretary of the Treasury so intended it. It is an amazing, an astounding suggestion to make to the people of the United States. It would mark a great advance if it came from the mouth of the extremist radical, but when it proceeds from the lips of a conservative Democrat, a member of a party which has been holding up the Constitution now for a hundred years or more to prevent real and lawful activities upon the part of the Government, we are not only amazed, but we are bewildered, and I hope that my friend the Senator from Mississippi will comment in some way upon that declaration before this debate shall conclude.

I put the question again: Is it possible that any one can be found in this Chamber or elsewhere who, after having examined the question, will be willing to declare that this is a regulation of commerce with foreign nations?

Mr. President, this bill does not propose a governmental regulation, nor would it be a constitutional regulation if it were governmental. It is a purely private regulation, if it be a regulation at all. As the Secretary of the Treasury admits inferentially, it is not a regulation; it is an investment on the part of the United States in the business of shipping.

Before looking into the judicial authorities it will be well worth while to remember the subordination of Federal to State authority which the bill establishes; and I am very glad the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER] is giving me his attention. I know that he is a patriot; I know that he wants to sustain the dignity and the power of the United States; and I count myself especially fortunate, because I can mention in his presence what I am about to say.

Under this bill the State will have the power to tax the corporation. Assuming that the corporation is organized under the laws of the State of New Jersey or under the laws of the State of New York, and the shipping board will naturally choose one or the other of those great Commonwealths. It might choose New Jersey, first, because the President lives in New Jersey, and, second, because its corporate laws are distinguished for their flexibility and their opportunity to the captains of industry. Possibly, however, the Secretary of the Treasury might insist upon precedence for his State, and it might be organized under the laws of the State of New York. But whether organized in one State or the other or anywhere else among the Commonwealths, the State which organizes the corporation will have the right to tax it. Is that denied? Is it open to dispute that if the corporation is organized under the laws of New Jersey the State can impose upon it such taxes as it desires to impose?

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President—



The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Florida?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield for a question.

Mr. FLETCHER. I presume the Senator expects some response to that question now. I do not want to interrupt his argument, and I am rather inclined to favor the idea of each speaker running under his power and consuming his own smoke, as far as possible, without adding any fuel myself. I think, however, the Senator is entitled at this point, in all candor and frankness, to a statement from me to the effect that there will be an amendment offered to the bill which will provide for the incorporation of this corporation in the District of Columbia, and it will not be incorporated under the laws of a State, if our view prevails.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, the suggestion just made by the Senator from Florida gives me great gratification in one respect, for it proves that the author of the bill and the source from which it springs is not infallible. We had been led to believe that amendments were made, not at this end of the Avenue but at the other. However, if the Senator from Florida pursues that course he will escape the dangers of Scylla only to fall into the perils of Charybdis. There is no law of the District of Columbia under which it can be organized.

Mr. FLETCHER. I know; but we will provide, in this law, how it shall be done.

Mr. CUMMINS. Very well.

Mr. FLETCHER. I hope the Senator will not commit himself absolutely to that proposition until he hears the amendment.

Mr. CUMMINS. I commit myself absolutely to the proposition that at this time there is no law in the District of Columbia under which a corporation of this kind ought to be or can be organized. As you will presently observe when I come to unfold my views on another phase of the matter, I do not say that Congress can not create a corporation in order to accomplish this purpose. I have no disposition to deny that authority upon the part of Congress.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, the Senator suggested that this corporation would be likely to be organized either in the State of New York or in the State of New Jersey. I presume that wherever it is organized they will reach the directors' meeting through the "McAdoo tunnel." [Laughter.]

Mr. CUMMINS. Of course the Senator understands that I yield only for a question. I am seriously arguing this bill, Mr. President, and I hope the Senator from Idaho will not so excite my risibilities that I can not pursue the line of my argument. I do not know what the future will bring forth. I am presenting my views on the bill as it is now before the Senate. If it is to be radically and essentially modified, we are not ready for debate. Why is the Senator from Florida so vigorously pressing the consideration of the measure if he knows that it is to be shortly withdrawn and some other proposal substituted for it? It is not fair to one like myself, at least, who is devoting his discussion to the measure itself as closely as it is possible for him to do. But I shall feel compelled to proceed upon the assumption that this is the bill on which we will be asked to vote, and therefore I enumerate some other things that the State can do with reference to a corporation organized as this one might be organized under the bill now before us.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President—

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield to the Senator from Washington for a question.

Mr. JONES. I simply wish to ask the Senator if he can give us any idea, if this is not the bill that we are expected to act upon, if the majority are expecting to bring in another bill, why it is that all other legislative business—appropriation bills and that sort of thing—is absolutely thrust aside?

Mr. CUMMINS. Oh, Mr. President, in answer to the Senator from Washington I will say that I am not omniscient. I do not know what the Democratic purpose is.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Nobody else does.

Mr. CUMMINS. It is mysterious and inexplicable, and therefore I can not answer the question of the Senator from Washington.

Second, under this bill, after the Government has subscribed to the stock of the corporation organized under the laws of New Jersey or of New York or of some other State, the Commonwealth will have the power to alter, amend, or repeal the articles of incorporation, commonly known as the charter of the corporation. Is it possible that the United States in its attempt to regulate commerce with foreign nations will employ as an instrumentality of that regulation a corporation in which it may own the controlling interest but whose articles of incorporation, whose constitutional life, is subject to be altered, amended, or repealed by the State which gives it existence?

To me the thought is not only appalling, it is abhorrent; but, after all, it is unthinkable that the Government of the United States will intrust its regulatory power to a corporation over which it has no control except in the vote of a majority of the stock, and whose every function may be modified or withdrawn by the laws of the State under which it is created.

Third, the State may refuse the privilege of enlarging the capital of the corporation. The bill presumes a corporation with an authorized capital of \$10,000,000, but it has a provision which runs something like this: That, with the consent of the Government, represented by its shipping board, its capital may be increased to some larger amount. Suppose, in order that the corporation may accomplish all that it is intended to accomplish, a larger capital is required; the Government of the United States must ask the State in which the corporation is organized for the privilege of exercising one of our own fundamental constitutional powers.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President—

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield for a question.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I wish to ask the Senator, if he has not touched upon the point, whether in his opinion the engaging in commerce by the Government itself, directly or indirectly, is such a regulation of commerce as the Constitution intended to give the Government the authority to exercise?

Mr. CUMMINS. I shall come to that question a little later. It may be the Government has the power to engage in commerce for the purpose of regulating it, but it must do so directly. It must have full control of the instrumentality that it selects for that purpose.

Fourth. The State can prescribe the powers, duties, and obligations of the directors and officers of the corporation. Here is a corporation to be created of which the Government becomes a controlling stockholder. It must operate through directors, through officers. They are not officers of the United States, as I said before, nor employees of the United States. They owe the United States no duty. They are bound under the law to the performance of no duty. Not only are these things true, but under this bill, if the corporation is so organized, the State can declare what the powers and the duties and the obligations of the directors and officers shall be; and again we are presented with the humiliating spectacle of the Government of the United States subjecting its sovereignty, in this respect, to the whim or the caprice of the State which organizes the corporation.

Fifth. The State can determine, with respect to all its corporations, the qualifications of directors and officers. Therefore, no matter what the Government might think of it, the State could prescribe such qualifications for the directors and the officers of the corporation as to imperil or destroy the efficiency even of the control which we would exercise over the corporation through a vote at the annual meeting of stockholders.

Sixth. The State could declare that the Federal Government should not own stock in one of its corporations, and require its disposition. There is no doubt but that in matters of great public policy the State has the right, in organizing or amending the charter of a corporation, to prescribe who shall own the stock. Suppose we were organized under the laws of the State of New Jersey, and there should come a time when the legislature of that State should think it unwise that the Government of the country should own capital stock in one of the corporations of the Commonwealth, it could declare that no corporation, whether a political or a financial or an industrial corporation, should own stock in one of its creations; and again we submit ourselves to a most shameful and degrading attitude with reference to the subject.

Seventh. While the State could not regulate the foreign commerce carried on by the corporation—I make a distinction, mark you—while the State could not regulate the foreign commerce carried on by the corporation, it could regulate everything that pertained to its management and its organization.

While these aspects of the bill may not be closely related to my objection against our authority to pass such a law under our Constitution, they exhibit so emphatically the absurdity and the folly of an attempt of this sort that I could not restrain myself from bringing them to the attention of Senators.

I now proceed a little further with regard to the question which I originally proposed. It is that this is not a regulation of commerce and is not, therefore, within our constitutional power.

Inasmuch as I hold a most liberal view of the Constitution with respect to our right to regulate commerce, I desire to make it clear in this argument that I am not questioning certain powers which many people, very many people, doubt. I stand upon the advanced line with regard to the power of the Government in the regulation of commerce, and whenever I dis-



cover a proposal that outruns my liberal view of this clause of the Constitution, I examine it closely. In view of this mental attitude of mine, I desire to say in the beginning of my reference to judicial expressions, first, I do not doubt nor question the right to buy or build and operate a railroad or a steamship, assuming that the former is to be used in commerce among the States and that the latter is to be used in commerce with foreign nations. Second, I do not question the right of Congress to create a corporation to carry on such commerce. Third, I do not question the right, under some circumstances, to work through a national incorporation of which the Government owns all the stock, although it is difficult for me to conceive the necessity of interposing the fiction of a corporation in order to do what the Government has the right to do. It must be understood, therefore, that I am not questioning the constitutionality of this bill for either of the reasons I have suggested. I want that statement to accompany my strictures of the bill.

We have the constitutional right to own and to operate an instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce. We have a right to create a corporation through which others may enter interstate or foreign commerce, and we may have the right to create a corporation and take its stock—all its stock—and accomplish the purposes through the medium of such an incorporation.

But neither of these things is done in the bill before us, nor is there any approach to them. We are here acquiring a majority of the stock of a corporation which is to engage in foreign commerce, and we depend for our influence entirely not upon any law which we prescribe as a rule of foreign commerce, not upon any rule which we impose upon the corporation as an instrumentality of commerce, but we depend entirely upon our influence as a stockholder to induce those who are intrusted with the management of the corporation to do those things which the Government might do if it were operating directly. That is not a regulation of commerce, and it can not be so held.

I intend to present very briefly now, I hope, some of the earlier expressions of the Supreme Court of the United States with regard to this subject. Naturally one appeals immediately to what may well be called the origin of the law upon this phase of the Constitution as it was laid down in *McCulloch v. Maryland* (4 Wheat., 316). It was in this case that for the first time the Supreme Court of the United States found it necessary to examine our power under the Constitution and to reach a conclusion as to the nature of the Constitution and the way in which the power granted by it to the General Government should be exercised. In this presence I need not comment upon the greatness either of the counsel who argued the case or the judges who decided it. They all understood the gravity of the issue, and, as history discloses, they gathered themselves together for the supreme effort of their lives. I will read very briefly from the opinion:

We admit, as all must admit, that the powers of the Government are limited and that its limits are not to be transcended. But we think the sound construction of the Constitution must allow to the National Legislature that discretion with respect to the means by which the powers it confers are to be carried into execution, which will enable that body to perform the high duties assigned to it in the manner most beneficial to the people. Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the Constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consist with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, are constitutional.

The question arose again in *Gibbons v. Ogden* (9 Wheat., 1), and the rule was probably laid down there with even more distinctness than in the case of *McCulloch v. Maryland*. I read an extract from the opinion rendered by Chief Justice Marshall. Speaking of the Constitution, he said:

We are now arrived at the inquiry, What is this power? It is the power to regulate; that is, to prescribe the rule by which commerce is to be governed. This power, like all others vested in Congress, is complete in itself, may be exercised to its utmost extent, and acknowledges no limitations other than are prescribed in the Constitution.

These are expressed in plain terms and do not affect the questions which arise in this case or which have been discussed at the bar. If, as has always been understood, the sovereignty of Congress, though limited to specified objects, is plenary as to those objects, the power over commerce with foreign nations and among the several States is vested in Congress as absolutely as it would be in a single government, having in its constitution the same restrictions on the exercise of the power as are found in the Constitution of the United States. The wisdom and the discretion of Congress, their identity with the people, and the influence which their constituents possess at elections are in this, as in many other instances, as that, for example, of declaring war, the sole restraints on which they have relied to secure them from its abuse. They are the restraints on which the people must often rely solely in all representative Governments.

Of course all Senators know the general circumstances out of which this case grew, one relating to navigation or navigable water.

I need not read further the discussion with respect to what is commerce, but proceed at once to the conclusion, which, after all, is the part of the opinion that is most pertinent in the discussion here. The court said:

We are now arrived at the inquiry, What is this power? It is the power to regulate; that is, to prescribe the rule by which commerce is to be governed.

That is the initial thought. I pause to suggest that in this opinion, as in the opinion in the case of *McCulloch* against Maryland, the dominant note is that the power to regulate is the power to prescribe the rule by which commerce is to be governed.

This power, like all others vested in Congress, is complete in itself, may be exercised to its utmost extent, and acknowledges no limitations other than are prescribed in the Constitution. These are expressed in plain terms and do not affect the questions which arise in this case or which have been discussed at the bar. If, as has always been understood, the sovereignty of Congress, though limited to specified objects, is plenary as to those objects, the power over commerce with foreign nations and among the several States is vested in Congress as absolutely as it would be in a single government having in its constitution the same restrictions on the exercise of the power as are found in the Constitution of the United States. The wisdom and the discretion of Congress, their identity with the people, and the influence which their constituents possess at elections are in this, as in many other instances, as that, for example, of declaring war, the sole restraints on which they have relied to secure them from its abuse. They are the restraints on which the people must often rely solely in all representative Governments.

The essential point in this opinion to which I desire to call attention is the definition of the power to regulate, which is the power to declare or establish a rule which shall govern and control commerce among the States or with foreign nations.

I desire to read a word also from the case of California against The Railroad Company, in One hundred and twenty-seventh United States, at page 1. Senators will remember that this is one of the California tax cases, and the question involved was the right of the State of California to levy certain taxes upon the property of a corporation created under the laws of the United States. Mr. Justice Bradley delivered the opinion, and I will try to select a very brief quotation, which is intended to show that the rule which was announced in the early days of the Republic has been constantly and consistently held throughout the entire development of the country. He said:

It can not at the present day be doubted that Congress, under the power to regulate commerce among the several States as well as to provide for postal accommodations and military exigencies, had authority to pass these laws.

In the case I am reading from it was contended that the power of Congress to pass a law having for its object the construction and maintenance of a highway such as a railroad was found not only under what is known as the commerce clause of the Constitution, but under the power to establish post offices and post roads, and also the supreme national necessity of having an instrumentality that could move our Army from one part of the country to another, and in that way it would really constitute a part of the national defense. So Justice Bradley affirmed the power to create the corporation.

It was regarded as a great advance at that time to have it distinctly decided that Congress could create a corporation the stock of which was to be owned by private persons. To carry on an enterprise of this sort was seriously doubted, and was here, I think, for the first time definitely decided. But there is not in the opinion, which is very luminous and very persuasive, the suggestion that in order to regulate commerce Congress could take a share in a corporation organized under the laws of a State, and hope, through the influence of stockholding merely, to so direct the affairs of the corporation that it might be regulative of the commerce in which it was engaged. There is no intimation of that kind in any of the authorities. It has never been proposed, so far as I know, in any Congress. The power that we are seeking to exercise here has never before been asserted by any statesman or lawyer. It has never been espoused by any administration. The most generous interpreters of the Constitution of the United States have never even dreamed that the Government could undertake to regulate commerce with foreign nations by merely becoming a stockholder in a State corporation organized to carry on foreign commerce.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. POINDEXTER in the chair). Will the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield for a question.

Mr. STERLING. Can it be true that because the Government is a majority stockholder in this corporation it therefore participates in commerce, that because of its participation in commerce it therefore regulates commerce?



Mr. CUMMINS. I have not heard it stated in that way before, but, of course, it is not true that because a corporation is engaged in commerce therefore its stockholders are engaged in commerce. Its stockholders are not engaged in commerce at all. So long as the law recognizes the artificial body known as a corporation it is that entity or body which is engaged in commerce. We have the right to regulate that body by prescribing any rule for its management and operation that may seem to us wise. As I admitted a few moments ago, if the United States chose to become that body itself by entering commerce in its political character, I am not prepared to say it could not, although I have grave doubt whether the appearance of the ship of a Government in a fleet of merchant vessels operating in a particular way could be regarded as a regulation of commerce. Something else must accompany it in order to constitute a regulation of commerce.

Of course there are more than a thousand, I presume, but suppose we have a thousand ships plying between the ports of the eastern coast of the United States and the ports of Europe. The United States buys one merchant ship, and enters that fleet as an owner and operator of the vessel. The United States determines not the rates that shall be charged by the thousand ships; the United States does not attempt to control the management or the character of the thousand ships, but it hopes because of its ship, one in a thousand, which it can operate according to its pleasure, that out of that operation there will grow a regulation of commerce. I very gravely doubt whether that is or would be held to be a regulation of commerce within the meaning of the Constitution.

Mr. WORKS and Mr. STERLING addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield, and if so, to whom?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield to the Senator from California, as he seemed to rise first, but for a question only.

Mr. WORKS. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa if there is not quite a clear distinction between the regulation of commerce and the actual carrying of commerce by the Government. The Government might be called upon to regulate commerce in which it was participating, which would be rather an awkward situation.

Mr. CUMMINS. Before I answer the question put by the Senator from California, I will say that before he came in I had attempted to show the scope of the phrase "regulate." Of course there is a great difference between regulation and ownership.

Mr. WORKS. I am sorry I interrupted the Senator if he has already gone over it.

Mr. CUMMINS. Oh, no; because the subject is worth repetition. The Constitution says "regulate commerce." The courts say that a regulation of commerce is the imposition of a rule under which commerce shall be carried on. I think there are some instances in which that will have to be broadened. I think it must be said that the Supreme Court of the United States has held that we can pass a law organizing a corporation the object of which is to engage in interstate or foreign commerce under our power to regulate commerce. But we have gone no further than that. That is the advance thought of the Supreme Court of the United States; but when you try to torture that principle or doctrine into a warrant for the enterprise in which this bill would put us, we become ridiculous.

I have not heard a word said upon the legal aspects of the case. The Secretary of the Treasury, whose speech so highly commends itself to the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS]—and I read the quotation before he came in—stated broadly the ground upon which he justifies this proposal. I have no doubt the Senator from Mississippi has read it, because he seemed to be so profoundly impressed with it. The Secretary of the Treasury says that whenever any business in this country fails because it can not or does not attract private capital, if it is a valuable business it is the duty of the Government to undertake the business and carry it on. Such is the constitutional view of the Secretary of the Treasury. It is the only suggestion we have had from the other side with regard to the laws which will justify what we are now asked to do. I repeat to the Senator from California and to the Senate that what we are here endeavoring to do is not to regulate commerce by putting into a fleet of 5,000 ships 25 or 30 ships which will belong to the United States and which are under the complete control of the United States, but what we are trying to do here is to put a fleet owned by a private corporation into the business with its companions at sea, and we are relying for the regulation of commerce upon the influence which the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Postmaster General, as the majority stockholders of that corporation, may bring to bear upon its management and opera-

tion. It is the most astonishing proposition ever made in the United States or anywhere else. It can not be defended either in its legal aspect or in its practical aspect.

I desire to refer, just to show the development of this question and what our courts really believe to be a regulation of commerce, to some later decisions. I refer to the case of Interstate Commerce Commission against Brimson, in One hundred and fifty-fourth United States, at page 470. I read from the opinion delivered by Justice Harlan:

The Constitution expressly confers upon Congress the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, among the several States, and with the Indian tribes, and to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying that power into execution. While the complete internal commerce of a State is reserved to the State itself, because never surrendered to the General Government, commerce, the regulation of which is committed by the Constitution to Congress, comprehends traffic, navigation, and every species of commercial intercourse or trade between the United States, among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.

Omitting, then, some suggestions upon the particular case before it, the court says:

What is the nature of the power thus expressly given to Congress, and to what extent and under what restrictions may it be constitutionally exerted?

This question was answered when Chief Justice Marshall said that it was the power "to prescribe the rule by which commerce is to be governed." "This power," the Chief Justice continued, "like all others vested in Congress, is complete in itself, may be exercised to its utmost extent, and acknowledges no limitations other than are prescribed in the Constitution."

What I am now reading is an extract from the case of Gibbons against Ogden, an extract used by Justice Harlan in delivering this opinion:

These are expressed in plain terms and do not affect the questions which arise in this case or which have been discussed at the bar. If, as has always been understood, the sovereignty of Congress, though limited to specified objects, is plenary as to those objects, the power over commerce with foreign nations and among the several States is vested in Congress as absolutely as it would be in a single Government having in its constitution the same restrictions on the exercise of the power as are found in the Constitution of the United States. The wisdom and the discretion of Congress, their identity with the people, and the influence which their constituents possess at elections, are in this, as in many other instances, as that, for example, of declaring war, the sole restraints on which they have relied to secure them from its abuse. They are the restraints on which the people must often rely solely in all representative governments.

Those who are familiar with the opinions of the Supreme Court will remember that in *McCulloch* against Maryland, while it did not involve probably the interpretation of what is known as the commerce clause of the Constitution, yet the reasoning of the court was applicable to that clause—and, indeed, was applied by the court to that clause—as well as applicable to other parts of the instrument. Chief Justice Marshall said in that case that the act of Congress in execution of the power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States" must be appropriate to the end; that it must be directed to the end; and if it was appropriate, if it did constitute a regulation under the rule which he had announced in an earlier paragraph of the opinion, then the court would give it effect, no matter how unwise it might think it to be; but that whether a particular act is a regulation of commerce is a judicial question which every act which we pass upon that subject must in the end meet.

I call attention also to the *Employers' Liability* cases in Two hundred and seventh United States, at page 463. I again remind the Senate that I am doing this simply to show that the definition of a regulation of commerce, announced but a few years after the adoption of the Constitution, has been continued to the present time; it has been applied to all our development; every varied condition and circumstance has been subjected to the test of that rule. Therefore, I think, these later decisions, even though they but reannounce the earlier rule, are of the utmost value in determining whether or not this legislation should be passed.

The Senate will recall that this decision was rendered upon what we know here as the employers' liability law, the original law, the law which the Supreme Court held to be unconstitutional in part, because of a defect or weakness which was afterwards removed by subsequent legislation. In order that the value of the decision may be fully understood I desire to point out the exact question which was before the Supreme Court.

We adopted a law defining the liability of railroad companies to employees. We passed it under the clause of the Constitution which gives us the authority to regulate commerce among the States. In the original legislation we did not sufficiently separate the State from the Nation. We endeavored to impose this rule upon every railroad company that was engaged in interstate commerce, and we attempted to give the benefit of the rule to every employee of such transportation companies.

When the case reached the Supreme Court of the United States there was a violent assault made upon it on the ground



that it was not a regulation of commerce at all and that it was purely a matter of State policy and regulation; but the Supreme Court held otherwise, and I think very properly so. The opinion was delivered by Chief Justice White—he was then Justice White—and is well worth a most careful study by everyone who desires to secure a clear conception of the limits of the national power. I have neither the time nor the inclination to read much of the opinion, but I want to select the most pertinent paragraph, if I can. I read:

All the questions which arise concern the nature and extent of the power of Congress to regulate commerce. That subject has been so often here considered and has been so fully elaborated in recent decisions, two of which are noted in the margin, that we content ourselves, for the purposes of this case, with repeating the broad definition of the commerce power as expounded by Mr. Chief Justice Marshall in *Gibbons v. Ogden* (9 Wheat., 1, 196).

He then quotes what I have already read, and then proceeds to inquire whether the law which Congress had passed fixing the liability of transportation companies was a rule imposed upon commerce. His argument upon that issue is one of the closest and best I have ever read, and I wish, Mr. President, that I could make it a part of my remarks. I do not feel like taking up the time of the Senate in reading it all, but he goes forward to show that, even though this is a law of liability imposed upon transportation companies, establishing a relation between the transportation companies and their employees, nevertheless it is a law or a rule imposed upon commerce among the States; that in so far as it was attempted to be imposed upon intrastate commerce the law was unconstitutional, but so far as it was imposed upon traffic among the States it was constitutional. Mr. President, this opinion indicates this; more than that, it clearly shows that a bill of this character is not a rule of commerce; it is not sovereign declaration with respect to the manner in which commerce shall be carried on; it does not specify or denote any of the conditions which must be fulfilled; it has none of the characteristics of a regulation of commerce as we have hitherto understood that term throughout all the decisions of the Supreme Court—and there are many which interpret this clause of the Constitution.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, may I make an inquiry of the Senator?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Florida?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield for a question.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, without signifying that I agree with the conclusions reached by the Senator—although many of his propositions, I think, are absolutely sound, and without signifying that I follow him in the idea that this bill would not come under the commerce clause of the Constitution—I want to ask him whether he thinks the general-welfare clause of the Constitution would not cover it?

Mr. CUMMINS. No, Mr. President, there is no legislative power in the general-welfare clause. If so, our Constitution would have no limitation at all. If it is true that we can pass any act which we believe to be for the general welfare of the people of the United States, then the Constitution is a mere mockery and might well be entirely disregarded. I am surprised that a statesman of the school to which I know the Senator from Florida belongs should even suggest that Congress had no limitation upon its power or its acts. Even I, who have insisted for years upon a liberal and generous interpretation of this immortal instrument, have never dared to say that we could do anything which we believed to be for the general good of the people of the country.

I refer the Senate, without reading anything from it, to the case of *Atlantic Coast Line Co. v. The Riverside Mills* (219 U. S., 186). I wish also to mention some very interesting and some very instructive discussions of this subject found in the writings of men eminent in their profession and who command the general confidence of all students of the Constitution. I shall not read from these books, because I desire to bring my observations to a close; but I cite the Senate to Miller on the Constitution, pages 447, 448, and 449; Watson on the Constitution, volume 1, pages 453, 470, 476, and the pages which follow; and Cook on the Commerce Clause of the Constitution, at page 65.

Mr. President, for the time being I close my argument with respect to the constitutionality of the measure before us. I hope that I am not prejudiced; I have tried to look upon this proposal from the standpoint of a citizen who really believes that the Government ought to do something to reestablish our merchant marine.

I am in favor of the Government purchasing or building ships to the extent of \$30,000,000 or more—I would prefer to build them—suitable for auxiliaries to our Navy, and in times of peace to employ them through the intervention of transporta-

tion companies or persons engaged in foreign commerce in carrying the trade of the United States. No Senator upon the other side can surpass me in a desire to accomplish that result. I desire to do it because our Navy is useless without such auxiliary ships; I desire to do it because on every occasion when we have had occasion to employ our Navy, whether in war or in spectacle, we have been compelled to hire a large number of auxiliaries in order to sustain the movements of our warships. I think Congress fails in its duty when it does not provide for a number of vessels that would cost at least \$30,000,000, adequate to the needs of and appropriate for the naval force of the United States, and it would be an inexcusable waste if during a time of peace—and we hope that we will never experience any other—these ships not needed for naval purposes should not be employed in the vocations of peace. I think that if we would buy these ships, own these ships, and then, when they are not needed by the Navy, lease them to those who are engaged in foreign commerce on such terms as will encourage and invite investment in the enterprise, and then put upon foreign commerce as a whole through law those regulations which ought to be imposed, we will have done something for the reinvigoration or the regeneration of our merchant marine. However, I do not intend to discuss that question now, because it is the subject of an amendment which I shall offer at the proper time, and when I do offer it I intend to address the Senate upon what I believe to be its merits as compared with the present proposal. So I forego a discussion of that question now and submit simply my views upon the power of the United States under the Constitution to engage in the enterprise into which this bill would lead us. When the proper time arrives it is my purpose to also point out how unavailing this measure would prove, even were it constitutional, in efficiently regulating the commerce in which we are all so deeply concerned.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The absence of a quorum being suggested, the Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Hardwick	Page	Sterling
Borah	Hitchcock	Perkins	Stone
Brady	Johnson	Poinceter	Sutherland
Bryan	Jones	Pomerene	Swanson
Camden	Kenyon	Ransdell	Thomas
Cañon	Kern	Reed	Thompson
Chamberlain	La Follette	Shafroth	Thornton
Colt	Lane	Sheppard	Tillman
Crawford	Lea, Tenn.	Shields	Townsend
Culberson	Lee, Md.	Simmons	Vardaman
Cummins	Lodge	Smith, Ariz.	Walsh
Fletcher	Martine, N. J.	Smith, Ga.	Warren
Gore	Nelson	Smith, Md.	White
Gronna	Overman	Smoot	Williams

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Fifty-six Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, after I gave my notice yesterday that I was going to speak to-day I felt, as I listened to the always entertaining observations of my friend the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], that I had been guilty of great temerity, because he then informed us that in two very able speeches, as I considered them, by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BURTON] and my colleague [Mr. WEEKS] there was absolutely nothing new; and if in those cogent, elaborate, and powerful arguments there was nothing new, I felt it would be difficult for me to introduce any novelty. But I reflected, Mr. President, that my friend the Senator from Mississippi had fallen so into the habit of saying about a tariff argument, whenever it was made by some one with whom he disagreed, that "we had heard it all before," and that "there was nothing new in it," that he had repeated his saying without sufficient consideration in regard to this question, because, however old the tariff may be, this question has never before arisen, because never before has it been proposed that the Government of the United States should enter upon the business of owning and operating ships and should undertake that new task in the midst of a worldwide war. That attempt and those conditions have never existed before.

I also felt, Mr. President, that though it is undoubtedly very witty to say that there is nothing in your opponent's speech—nothing, "absolutely nothing new"—as an argument the observation lacks completeness, perhaps, and is not wholly satisfying. At the same time I recognize the difficulties with which I am confronted in trying to say anything on this subject. We do not know yet what bill is before us. It is still being constructed "elsewhere," if I may use the conventional word when we are referring to transactions which take place outside the Senate Chamber. It is being made somewhere between



the White House and the Democratic caucus, and we do not know what the bill is to be. It is not an easy matter to argue about a bill that is not yet before us. To-day the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER] took occasion to say to the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS] that a very important amendment was to be made to this bill changing the entire character of the corporation. He did not tell us what the corporation or what its franchises, limitations, and so forth, were to be, but he stated that a very important and vital change in that direction was to be made. Of course, under those circumstances it is difficult to discuss the bill. Moreover, we have no arguments presented on the other side in regard to it, so that we are at a loss to know why the Senators on the other side are supporting this bill so ardently. I understand the situation of the Senators on the other side. Even if some one has blundered, as was once said in a famous poem—

Theirs not to make reply,  
Theirs not to reason why.

So we are left without the arguments of the other side, and we have to deal with the bill as it is.

I, however, offered an amendment yesterday to which I wish to address myself, which, I understand, has already been disposed of in the committee, but which will undoubtedly come before the Senate again. Perhaps at that time I will say something more about it.

This bill, whether in the form it first manifested when it broke in radiant perfection upon us here in the Senate fresh from the committee, or whether in the second edition which followed it in the course of a few days, or whether in still another edition which is to come to us later, presents for consideration questions of the very greatest magnitude. It commits the Government of the United States to Government ownership in a direction never before attempted, except on a perfectly insignificant scale by any nation, and never by any great maritime nation. It is an advance in the direction of socialism, as I look at it, which alone would merit a thorough debate in the Senate. It opens up the whole question—one of the greatest questions with which this country has had to deal for many years—of the best method of reviving the American merchant marine in the foreign trade. It also involves international questions of the gravest character, and fraught with most serious possibilities.

I propose, however, to deal to-day with only one very limited aspect of the many questions raised by this bill. I intend to ask the Senate's attention to the single point of what ships we are to buy if this bill becomes law. I am confronted here, as we are confronted in all directions, by a total lack of necessary information, which should properly be furnished by those who are urging the passage of this measure. The President has contented himself in speaking of it with a few simple generalities, which are of no use in the discussion, and with the assertion of his own personal determination to have the bill pass, which is a governing factor in the whole business but which is not an argument and sheds comparatively little light on the darkness which surrounds the pathway of the bill. The Secretary of the Treasury, who competes with the President in zeal for the bill, has uttered more words in regard to it, but has said comparatively little. In his testimony before the House committee, however, he gave the committee to understand that the ships which the Government intended to buy are the German ships now laid up in New York and Boston because they are unwilling to go to sea through fear of capture by the opponents of Germany. When this matter was first brought forward, soon after the outbreak of the war, it was generally understood, both here and in Europe, that the intention of the Government was to secure this legislation in order to buy the German ships. This purpose was never denied by anyone in authority and the Governments of France, Russia, and England protested against it, although the English Government, which apparently was informed that the intention was to buy the German ships, made her protest with certain modifications. At that time the Secretary of the Treasury went before the House committee and in the course of his testimony there spoke as follows:

Mr. SAUNDERS. How would this bill add to the number of available bottoms, when it proposes to make its purchases from existing bottoms? It will not add to the volume of bottoms.

Secretary McADOO. There is a large number of idle bottoms. They may be purchased.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Chiefly, are not those all German bottoms?

Secretary McADOO. More of those are idle at the moment than any other.

Mr. SAUNDERS. It has been suggested that there would be grave objection to our undertaking to purchase German bottoms.

Secretary McADOO. Why?

Mr. SAUNDERS. The newspapers make the statement that objection has come from the nations concerned in this war.

Secretary McADOO. Of course, I shall not attempt to talk of diplomatic matters.

Mr. SAUNDERS. They say that would be equal to furnishing immediate pecuniary aid—that is, to Germany?

Secretary McADOO. That is a question altogether aside, I think, from the issue. I believe that it can not be successfully disputed by any individual or any nation that this Government, or any government, has a right to buy merchant ships, provided it buys them in good faith and for a neutral purpose, and that is exactly what would be done in this case.

The Secretary's statements of international law are almost as surprising as his statement of constitutional law which was quoted so effectively by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS] and commented upon so happily by the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH] this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. If we should buy some French ships, too, that would alter the situation. In other words, if they had some, as well as Germany, that objection would not be urged?

Mr. SAUNDERS. We would not buy any French ships, because they are not to be bought.

Secretary McADOO. I infer from what you tell me of from what you have read in the papers that those ships, if purchased, would be purchased from the German Government. I understand that those ships are simply owned by German companies in which German citizens are stockholders. It does not follow that the proceeds of a purchase from a private corporation of that country would be turned over to the Government.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Those German companies have a certain relationship with the German Government. That is the basis of this protest. Of course, I do not know anything about the protest further than has been explained in the press.

Secretary McADOO. I doubt if the press reports are accurate.

The CHAIRMAN. I apprehend that this Government, before they purchased from anybody, would look into all the conditions surrounding the transaction, and avoid any complications.

Secretary McADOO. The board proposed in the bill consists really of the President of the United States and certain Cabinet officers therein mentioned.

I am not sure whether the President of the United States is one of the incorporators or not. I did not notice him in the bill.

I think there is no more punctilious citizen of the United States with respect to the neutrality of this country than the President of the United States. I think you may safely depend upon it, if this bill is passed and this board is vested with power to act, that that power will be exercised in such a way that the neutrality of this country will be preserved.

Mr. SAUNDERS. I would not question that; but then, if he exercised that power in that way he would not buy the ships to afford this relief.

I think no one can doubt, after considering what I have just read, that the Secretary of the Treasury practically admitted that the purpose of the bill was to buy the German ships, and this view is coincident with the uncontradicted popular belief.

On the 21st of January I clipped from the paper this statement, which suggests what is going on at the seller's end of the line:

Officials of the Hamburg-American Line said yesterday that the story printed some time ago in the Tribune announcing that Herr Ballin intended coming to this country to negotiate the sale of the company's vessels interned in American ports was correct. It was denied at the time.

It was said in German shipping circles yesterday that the sale of the *Dacia* was the beginning of an extensive sale of German steamships of small tonnage. But the unexpected complications arising from England's refusal to recognize the transfer to American registry have temporarily halted the negotiations.

Why, last summer, when this proposal to buy the German ships was first mooted, protests were made by France and Russia, as well as England.

Herr Ballin's private secretary has been in New York several weeks arranging the preliminaries for the sale. Local German steamship officials say that on the success of the efforts of the United States Government to induce Great Britain to accept the American registry of the *Dacia* may depend the future transfer of German vessels to American interests.

I think further that we may take it as admitted that the purchase of the German ships is the original intention of the administration. If it is not their intention, it is easy to demonstrate it by placing in the bill the amendment already voted down in the committee to debar the Government from buying the ships of any belligerent or of the citizens or subjects of any belligerent, under the appropriation made in this act. That amendment embodied my very strong conviction that the Government should under no circumstances buy the ships of the citizens or subjects of any belligerent. I am just as much opposed to buying English ships, or French, Russian, or Austrian ships, as I am to the Government purchase of German ships. The only difference is that the administration is apparently intending to buy the German ships, and no others, and Congress should have the wisdom to prohibit the purchase of any belligerent-owned ships. It is idle to say that we could not buy ships elsewhere. Among the neutrals are maritime nations like Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, possessing many steamships, some of which we could buy. Brazil, I am informed, has a large number of ships in a line owned by the Government or in a line in which the Government is largely interested, and some of those ships, cargo boats and nothing else, Brazil, it is said, would be glad to sell. Then there are the lines running to South America, which have more cargo



space than cargoes. Vessels could be bought there. The United States & Brazil Steamship Line, Norton Lilly & Co., W. R. Grace & Co., the New York-South American Line, the Red D Line, the United Fruit Co., all operate American steamships to South American ports, but these vessels are unable to secure full cargoes owing to financial conditions in South America. There has been, in fact, a falling off of 25 per cent in the number of vessels engaged in this trade for the five months beginning August 1, 1914, as compared with the five months beginning August 1, 1913, and a decrease in net registered tonnage of 32 per cent.

Lastly, from our own coastwise trade ships could be obtained, thus not only giving the Government ships but also affording employment to our shipyards, in order to fill the gaps in the coastwise trade caused by the Government purchases. From all these sources we could obtain just the type of vessels we need—large, modern freighters—whereas with few exceptions the German ships are wholly unsuited, as I shall show, to our present purposes.

The only argument I have heard for the purchase of the German ships is that they are ready to our hand and that, as an emergency exists, we must buy ships of which we can take immediate possession. This is merely a pretext. The emergency may have existed last summer for a short period, but it does not exist now. I intend to discuss at a later date the question of the tonnage now available for the shipping of our exports, but I may say that from the best information that I can obtain I find that there is no difficulty in chartering ships for trade in any part of the world. Moreover, if an emergency did exist there are plenty of other ships besides the German ships ready to our hand—the South American ships I have mentioned, American coastwise ships, and the Brazilian ships already referred to.

No doubt the rates are high. That is because war exists and insurance rates and freight rates correspond to the risks, but high rates do not constitute an emergency. The number of ships which the Government could purchase from any source could take but a trifling part of our freight, and the favored few who could get their freight on the Government ships would no doubt have their risks paid for them by the United States, but this would be of no advantage to the great mass of our shippers and exporters. The emergency argument, therefore, wholly fails as a reason for buying the German ships.

In view, then, of the general belief to which I have referred, of the statements of the Secretary of the Treasury, and of the action of the committee upon the amendment which I introduced, I think it may be assumed that the German ships are the ships to be purchased under this bill, and I therefore desire to bring to the attention of the Senate just what those ships are and invite their consideration and that of the press and the people of the United States to the character of these ships and ask them to decide whether they fulfill even the alleged purposes of the bill.

Let me call attention first to this point, upon which I shall not now dwell, because it will, I am sure, be considered more fully by others, as well as by myself, in the course of the debate, and that is the international effect of the proposed transaction. These German ships are held in port, as I have said, through fear of being seized by hostile cruisers if they emerge from their present place of safety. The removal of these ships from trade, this keeping them laid up at New York and Boston, means of course a great loss to the owners and to Germany. Not only are the owners and Germany, which subsidizes these lines, losing a large amount of money by their being laid up at neutral ports, but they are at a heavy daily expense in caring for the ships and in mitigating, so far as possible, the inevitable deterioration which idle ships incur. Therefore, to buy these ships and relieve their owners from these expenses and to hand over to them thirty or forty millions of money belonging to the people of the United States would be a great and direct assistance to one of the belligerents in the war now raging. It would be an unneutral act, and very readily might be construed as a hostile act and an actual breach of neutrality.

To show that this matter of the transfer of the ships from a belligerent to a neutral flag has already engaged the thoughts of this administration, I desire to call attention to the case of the *Dacia* and the decision of our War Risk Bureau in regard to it. I read a dispatch from Washington to the New York Sun, dated January 14:

UNITED STATES DECLINES TO INSURE THE "DACIA"—WAR RISK BUREAU'S DECISION SUSPECTED AS MOVE TO PREVENT HER SAILING.

WASHINGTON, January 14, 1915.

It was disclosed to-day that the sudden turmoil over the *Dacia* and the request of the State Department that Great Britain permit the vessel to discharge her cargo at Rotterdam instead of Bremen were due

to the refusal of the Government War Risk Bureau to insure the *Dacia* and her cargo.

This refusal completely upset the plans of the owners of the cotton about to be shipped. Having obtained consent of the Department of Commerce to the admission of the *Dacia* to American registry, they had taken it for granted that consistent action would be obtained from the Government War Risk Bureau and that insurance would be written as desired.

The insurance was refused on the ground that as the British Government had indicated objections to the *Dacia* engaging in trade with Germany, her arrest on the high seas was virtually a certainty and she was not therefore a good risk.

The fact that the Department of Commerce had seen fit to O. K. the transaction to the extent of granting American registry did not influence the War Risk Bureau, and, though flying the American flag, the *Dacia* was denied insurance.

Members of Congress who heard to-day of the refusal of the War Risk Bureau to insure the *Dacia's* cargo expressed great interest. It was said to be the first case in which the bureau has refused to give insurance to an American vessel. Many believed firmly that the administration was using the War Risk Bureau in an effort to prevent the sailing of the *Dacia* and the raising of a delicate issue with Great Britain.

The owners of the cotton to be shipped on the *Dacia* had, however, entered into a contract for the staple's delivery in Bremen on the assumption that insurance would certainly follow the granting of the American flag to the *Dacia*.

The American shippers of cotton, therefore, stand to lose heavily through the refusal of the Government's War Risk Bureau—hence the efforts now being made through the State Department to get a pledge from Great Britain that the *Dacia* be permitted to make a voyage to Rotterdam, a neutral port, instead of Bremen without interference.

The belief here is that the Government intends to use if possible the War Risk Bureau to prevent the recurrence of this delicate question if England consents to allow the *Dacia* to make this particular voyage to Rotterdam without interference.

It is apparent, of course, that refusal by the Government War Risk Bureau to grant insurance would prevent the sailing of the *Dacia* to a German port.

It has become known also that the State Department in the negotiations with Great Britain regarding the *Dacia* is seeking to secure her exemption from arrest for this particular voyage only.

Since that dispatch appeared we have been informed that the *Dacia* is to sail, with the approval of the State Department, in order to make a test case. It seems to me a rather dangerous business to make test cases of this character in time of war, when belligerent Governments are protesting against the action, and for the State Department to approve sending forth a vessel which, as late as January 13, our War Risk Bureau declined to insure.

Now, however, there has been a change, as we are all aware. The Post of to-day, January 22, says:

The British Government announced last night through its embassy here that if the former Hamburg-American liner *Dacia* proceeded to sea she would be captured and taken to a prize court. Her cargo of cotton will be purchased by the British Government or forwarded to Rotterdam without further expenses to the shippers, according as the owners may prefer.

The State Department had communicated this information informally to the owners of the *Dacia* as a result of a message from Ambassador Page, and was notified in reply that the vessel was loading at Galveston and would put to sea, notwithstanding the British Governments position. It was believed that the owners had resolved to test the issue in a prize court.

#### CARGO, NOT SHIP, INSURED.

Incidentally, the War Risk Insurance Bureau of the American Government yesterday issued a policy insuring the cotton cargo at 4 per cent, but declined to insure the vessel itself.

Naturally they are willing now to insure the cotton because the British Government has formally announced that they would pay for the cotton themselves. So it is a fairly good risk. The vessel, however, they refuse still to insure.

The statement from the British embassy was as follows:

"In connection with the transfer of the *Dacia* from the German to the American flag, the British Government, while anxious to avoid causing loss to the shippers of the cargo, have found it impossible to agree that the transfer, in the circumstances in which it has been effected, is valid in accordance with the accepted principles of international law. If, therefore, the *Dacia* should proceed to sea and should be captured, the British Government will find themselves obliged to bring the ship—apart from the cargo—before the prize court.

#### WILL RESPECT CARGO.

"It is stated that the cargo of the *Dacia* is to consist solely of cotton owned by American citizens. If this is so, and if the vessel should be captured, the British Government will guarantee either to purchase the cargo at the price which would have been realized by the shippers if the cargo had reached its foreign destination or, if preferred, they will undertake to forward the cotton to Rotterdam without further expense to the shippers."

This announcement concludes the first chapter in the negotiations which the American Government undertook on behalf of the owners of the *Dacia* to secure her freedom from capture. Under the declaration of London, a transfer of flag must be proven to be of a bona fide character, and not made merely to escape the consequences of war.

#### UNITED STATES ASKED EXEMPTION.

One of the alleged suspicious circumstances cited at first was that the *Dacia* planned to traverse her old route from the United States to Germany. This led to a proposal by the owners that the ship take her cargo to Rotterdam, Holland. The State Department asked that, in view of the change, a single voyage by the vessel be not interrupted.

Soon after the war began the State Department, holding that all of the parties to the declaration of London were finding loopholes in the convention and amending it at their own pleasure, announced that, as far as the United States was concerned, it would not be bound by those declarations. Consequently the American Government is operating under the general principles of international law, which recog-



nize bona fide transfers of ownership of merchant vessels of a belligerent power even in time of war.

The following official announcement was made yesterday by Secretary McAdoo that the War Risk Bureau had granted insurance on the cargo of the *Dacia*.

I have to resort to the press for these matters, because our Government is conducted with such secrecy that the Senate is not even informed officially about these dealings in any respect. The Secretary said:

After careful consideration of the matter, the conclusion was reached that upon the merits of the case the insurance should be granted. It must be understood, however, that this does not establish a precedent and that each case of a similar character that may arise must be judged upon its merits.

The distinction between insuring the cargo and the hull of the *Dacia* has been found by the bureau on the ground that title to the cotton is absolutely vested in an American citizen, and it is not classed as contraband.

#### BRITISH SEEK TO REASSURE.

LONDON, January 21.

Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign secretary, to-day submitted to Walter Hines Page, the American ambassador, the reply of the British Government to the State Department's request that the steamer *Dacia*, which now flies the American flag, be permitted to make a special trip to Germany with a cargo of cotton without establishing a precedent as to the validity of the change in the vessel's register.

Every effort is made to reassure the United States about the *Dacia's* cargo, and a full explanation is made that Great Britain wishes to expedite the cotton movement, but that she can not abandon the position that belligerent ships must not be permitted to escape the effects of belligerency by transferring to another flag.

The English papers recently have carried many dispatches stating that both Greek and Italian firms are negotiating for the purchase of interned German and Austrian ships in the Mediterranean. But Great Britain and her allies, it is stated, will do everything possible to prevent enemy ships escaping the penalties of war by transfer to the flag of any neutral country.

#### "DACIA" HAS STEAM UP.

GALVESTON, TEX., January 21.

With her cargo of cotton for Germany on board and provisions for a voyage, the steamer *Dacia* is at her pier, with steam up, waiting for orders from E. N. Breitung, owner of the ship, before sailing. When shown the statement that British warships were guarding the Florida Straits, Capt. McDonald smiled, and remarked that he hoped they would remain there. He appears to be confident that he can take his vessel into the English Channel before being held up.

The cotton aboard the *Dacia* is for January sailing, which gives the ship's owner still 10 days in which to decide whether to sail.

All that relates to the purchase of a German vessel belonging to one of the great lines—the Hamburg-American—by a private individual. It demonstrates the attitude about it; it shows that our Government admits there is a great international question involved in the transfer of the flag from a belligerent ship to a neutral in time of war. But the *Dacia* is bought by a private individual, and it has been proposed and is the intention, I believe, to-day to give the Government authority to buy belligerent-owned ships and transfer the flag. I need not point out to the Senate what a very different condition that will produce in a situation which is admittedly dangerous internationally.

In the Post also of to-day—January 22—I call attention to the following:

Although the State Department has asked for more details as to the detention of American sailors from the steamers *Greenbrier* and *Carolyn* at Bremen, officials expressed the belief that the unusual military precaution has been exercised because the vessels previously had touched at enemy ports.

A consular dispatch to the department from Bremen gave the first intimation that the sailors of the two American vessels which brought cotton to Germany had been detained. The message added that the military authorities had promised to release the sailors the moment the ships were ready to depart. As officials believe both ships already have left Bremen, they took it for granted yesterday that the sailors had been released.

I read that to show the attitude of the other great belligerent power toward neutral vessels. In this connection let me call your attention to the attitude of Germany in regard to neutral commerce, as stated by Bernhardt in his War To-day:

It is customary as a rule to convoy prizes to the nearest port at home and to destroy them only in case of need, as is also provided for in the London declaration. But the party with few naval pivots of its own in foreign waters will very often find itself in a position to assume its case to be one of need, and will then naturally destroy at once the hostile ships captured; short work must likewise generally be made of neutral ships carrying contraband.

We are in friendly relations with Germany and wish to remain so, as with all the other fighting nations. But if we buy French or English or Russian ships and transfer them to our flag, do you imagine that Germany will accept our action? Germany feels that she is fighting for her life, and however willing she may be to make sacrifices and to hold our friendship and good will, you may be sure she will not sacrifice her own safety in the slightest degree in order to do it.

That is the attitude of Germany on one side just the same as that of the opposed powers on the other, and here we are proposing to buy ships owned by a belligerent—I care not what

belligerent—and going much further than the mere question of contraband, making ready to put them into a trade where the seas are strewn not only with mines but with international complications of the most dangerous character.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. LODGE. I yield for a question.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I notice the Senator from Massachusetts assumes that it would be a more difficult or precarious proceeding if the purchase of a German vessel were made by the Government than by a private citizen. I sympathize to a considerable extent with the position taken by the Senator, but I want to ask him whether in the case of a purchase of a belligerent ship by the United States the question of bona fides would not be entirely removed; whether such a purchase made by a Government would not be upon a higher level than a purchase made or purported to have been made by an individual, which might or might not be a bona fide purchase and might or might not remove it out of the realm of suspicion?

Mr. LODGE. Undoubtedly there might be made a question of good faith, but let me first point out that Great Britain, which has always been the seller of ships when other nations were at war, has construed the rule about the transfer of belligerent flags to neutral vessels in time of war with greater liberality than anybody else. Her own interests were involved. France from the days of Napoleon, and both France and Russia to-day, hold to the broad doctrine that after hostilities are begun no transfer of a belligerent flag to a neutral ship can be recognized, except under certain modifications in the declaration of London, which are not binding, so far as we are concerned, and which would not alter this case.

Mr. President, the reason of this position is obvious. If such transfers can be made, a belligerent vessel escaping from a pursuing cruiser of another belligerent takes refuge in our port, or the port of some other neutral, is sold, her flag transferred, and she goes out beyond the 3-mile limit with the neutral flag flying, no nation on earth would recognize that transfer.

Mr. President, when nations are fighting for their lives, as the nations engaged in this war on both sides believe they are, their feelings, I take it, are not unlike our feelings when we were fighting for our national life in the Civil War. They are trying to win with all the desperation that a struggle for life gives to a man or a nation, and if they think that a neutral flag is being used in some way to help the power with which they are struggling for existence, it takes a great deal to stay their hands from what they regard as a great, a vital act of self-defense. We shall do well to remember our own case of the Laird rams. To have involved ourselves at that time in war with England would have been undoubtedly to have brought on the opening of the Southern ports, and thus very probably the failure of the Union cause, and yet in the controversy which arose in London about it, we all remember Mr. Adams's famous note to Lord John Russell, in which our minister said, in speaking of the escape of the Laird rams, "It is superfluous for me to point out to your lordship that this means war." We were fighting in desperation, and it would have been an overwhelming weight almost to throw England's hostility into the scale against us, but we did not hesitate to take the risk of war rather than see help given to our opponent in that struggle. Those nations of Europe have the same feeling burning in their hearts to-day. Why should we project a vessel bought from a belligerent and put under our flag into such a whirlpool of contending passions as the war in Europe is to-day?

The reason why it is worse for the Government than a private person is that if a private ship is taken by a belligerent it is a diplomatic incident; it can be settled by diplomatic arrangement, the cargo can be paid for as Great Britain offers to pay for the cargo of cotton in the case of the *Dacia*. You must remember that when I say that they do not recognize the transfer it means that France and Russia would regard those ships after their transfer as still German ships, and would capture or sink them, and to capture or sink a Government-owned ship is very different from capturing or sinking a privately owned ship.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BRADY in the chair). Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. LODGE. I do. I yield for a question merely.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I wanted to call the Senator's attention to a difference which I think exists. In the case of a ship purchased, say, by Mr. Breitung from a subject of one of the belligerents there would still exist a suspicion—an individual purchasing such a ship—that it was a subterfuge to carry on, say, German commerce; but if Congress passes some such bill as is



now proposed and is before the Senate and enters into the construction and purchase of ships for the benefit of the United States, to restore to the United States a certain export trade which has been imperiled by the war, would not that suspicion be dissipated and would not the act of the United States be construed not as being by any possibility in the interest of the belligerents but as being wholly for the benefit of the people of the United States?

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I do not think the fact that the Government purchases a ship necessarily establishes bona fides. We suspected the good faith of Great Britain, and suspected it sometimes with very good reason, in regard to similar cases during our Civil War. The mere fact of the purchase by the Government is not enough, and there you raise at once one of the perilous questions which I fear. We would naturally ask in such a case, "Do you question the good faith of the United States?" Suppose they do? I do not want that situation to arise.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. LODGE. I yield for a question.

Mr. McCUMBER. While the Senator is on this particular subject I wish he would explain what he means by a bona fide transaction. Would he regard the mere payment in cash of the value of the ship as a bona fide transaction when the ship has just escaped from vessels that are seeking her capture? Is there not another element besides the mere passing of money in good faith and paying full value necessary to make a bona fide transaction?

Mr. LODGE. Of course, Mr. President, they could start with the proposition, as the Senator from North Dakota has said, which I stated when I used the illustration of an escaping vessel. The belligerent ship taking refuge in a neutral port, which is the case here, and then the purchase and putting on the neutral flag, no matter who put it on, would be enough without proving bad faith. The evasion by the transfer would be taken as established. But I do not want the question of the faith of the United States questioned. I do not want ships owned by the United States put into any such position. And yet, Mr. President, despite all this—

Mr. SUTHERLAND. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. LODGE. Certainly.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The Senator has already stated the rule as interpreted by the French Government, which is, I understand, that the mere transfer of a vessel of a belligerent after the beginning of hostilities is regarded as justifying the seizure and condemnation of the vessel. In that view of it, would it make any difference that the vessel had been acquired by a corporation the majority of the stock of which was owned by the United States? The moment such a vessel was purchased by this corporation, a vessel of Germany, after the outbreak of hostilities, would not the French Government under their interpretation of the rule seize the vessel, would it not be condemned by their prize courts, and would they inquire into the question of bona fides?

Mr. LODGE. I answer "yes" to the Senator's question. I think he states the undoubted fact, and that is the danger which arises. They would be considered as German ships if German ships were bought. If we bought an English ship—and I have heard it suggested that that is one reason for keeping a provision for buying belligerent ships out of the bill—if we were to buy a British ship, Germany unquestionably would hold to the general law and would continue to regard her as a British ship after the transfer. Of course if a German cruiser—and there are some loose still on the Atlantic—met that ship, she would treat her as an enemy ship liable to prize or capture.

Mr. President, I did not mean to go so much into this side of the question. It will be discussed later and discussed, I hope, by the Senator from New York [Mr. Root] as to the international aspect far more thoroughly and far more ably than I can hope to do it.

I merely want to call attention to the situation.

And yet, despite all this, we are apparently not to be permitted to put a simple clause into this bill which will at once guard us against any such dangers or misunderstandings. Why not? Why not? I have thus far found no answer to this question, nor have I heard any reason given why we should enter upon Government ownership by purchasing a large number of unsuitable ships from a belligerent, with all the difficulties and real dangers which such a step implies.

Supposing the purchase, however, to be made, the transfer of these ships to our flag would follow. Then the question at once arises as to whether the belligerents opposed to Germany would recognize that transfer. I do not intend to dwell upon this point, because, as I have said, it will be thoroughly discussed

later; but this much I will repeat and emphasize, that France and Russia have always held consistently to the doctrine that the transfer of the flag from a belligerent to a neutral, after hostilities had begun, was not to be recognized, and England, although Sir Edward Gray in his dispatch last summer made some modifications in his opposition to the sale to us of the German ships as to the particular trade in which these ships should be engaged, he also made it abundantly clear that the objection to the transfer would lie if the ships were put into the European trade. As we now have more cargo space going to South America than we can fill, it is obvious that if the ships to be purchased under this bill are to be of any use they must be put into the European trade, so that we have notice of the views of those belligerents in regard to this question of the transfer of the flag. If the ships were purchased, the unneutral act committed, and the ships transferred to our flag, they would then go to sea as Government-owned ships, and, in the view of the belligerents opposed to Germany, would still be German ships, would be regarded as good prize and liable to be captured or sunk because they were still German ships. I think I need not enlarge upon further or reiterate the danger which such a situation would present to the peace and welfare of the United States. It would not help our export trade and would bring us within measurable distance of war, not with England alone but with France, Russia, and Japan.

I come now to the character of the ships which it is intended to buy, for I think that an examination will lead to some interesting and suggestive conclusions. I print first a list of the German and Austrian vessels now laid up in American ports, according to the Bureau of Navigation of the Department of Commerce. I ask to have that list printed.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. LODGE. I do.

Mr. NELSON. I should be glad if the Senator from Massachusetts would read the list.

Mr. LODGE. I will read it. I shall analyze the list, and perhaps it is well to read it. It is as follows:

#### GERMAN STEAMSHIPS.

##### HAMBURG-AMERICAN LINE.

Name of vessel.	Gross tons.	Now at—
<i>Vaterland</i> .....	54,282	New York.
<i>Amerika</i> .....	22,622	Boston.
<i>President Lincoln</i> .....	18,168	New York.
<i>President Grant</i> .....	18,072	New York.
<i>Cincinnati</i> .....	16,339	Boston.
<i>Pennsylvania</i> .....	13,333	New York.
<i>Bulgaria</i> .....	11,440	Baltimore.
<i>König Wilhelm II</i> .....	9,410	New York.
<i>Hamburg</i> .....	10,531	New York.
<i>Bohemia</i> .....	8,414	New York.
<i>Rhaetia</i> .....	6,600	Philadelphia.
<i>Prinz Oskar</i> .....	6,026	Philadelphia.
<i>Armenia</i> .....	5,464	New York.
<i>Arcadia</i> .....	5,454	Norfolk.
<i>Pisa</i> .....	4,967	New York.
<i>Prinz Joachim</i> .....	4,760	New York.
<i>Prinz August Wilhelm</i> .....	4,733	New York.
<i>Prinz Eitel Friedrich</i> .....	4,650	New York.
<i>Allemania</i> .....	4,630	New York.
<i>Saxonia</i> .....	4,424	Seattle.
<i>Nassovia</i> .....	3,902	New York.
<i>Sibiria</i> .....	3,535	Baltimore.
<i>Sarnia</i> .....	3,402	New York.
<i>Georgia</i> .....	3,143	New Orleans.
Total.....	248,301	

##### HANSA.

<i>Ockenfels</i> .....	5,621	Boston.
<i>Adamsturm</i> .....	5,000	New York.

##### JOLIET COMPANY.

<i>Neptun</i> .....	197	San Francisco.
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##### DAMPFSCHIFFS REED HORN AKTIEN-GESELLSCHAFT.

<i>Portonia</i> .....	2,778	New York.
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##### OTTO ZELCH.

<i>Clara Mennig</i> .....	1,685	New York.
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##### DEUTSCH-AUSTRALISCHE DAMPFSSCHIFFS GESEL.

<i>Harburg</i> .....	4,472	New York.
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##### HOLM AND MOLZEN.

<i>Maia</i> .....	2,555	New York.
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##### D. FUHRMANN NISSE AND GUNTHER NFLG.

<i>Hohenfelds</i> .....	2,974	Savannah.
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##### KOSMOS.

<i>Serapis</i> .....	4,756	San Francisco.
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##### NORTH GERMAN LLOYD.

<i>George Washington</i> .....	25,570	New York.
<i>Kronprinzessin Cecilie</i> .....	19,503	Boston.
<i>Kaiser Wilhelm II</i> .....	19,361	New York.
<i>Grosser Kurfürst</i> .....	13,102	New York.
<i>Barbarossa</i> .....	10,984	New York.
<i>Prinzess Irene</i> .....	10,893	New York.
<i>Friedrich der Grosse</i> .....	10,771	New York.
<i>Rhein</i> .....	10,058	Baltimore.



Name of vessel.	Gross tons.	Now at—
Neckar	9,835	Baltimore.
Kohn	7,409	Boston.
Wittekind	5,640	Boston.
Willehad	4,761	Boston.
Total	147,887	
DEUTSCH-AMERIKAN PETROLEUM CO. (TANK).		
Jupiter	10,073	Norfolk.
Delphin	7,129	Norfolk.
Buffalo	6,631	San Francisco.
Phoebus	6,268	San Francisco.
Kiowa	5,076	New York.
Hagen	5,460	New York.
Ems	4,046	Philadelphia.
Meppen	4,045	New York.
Total	48,728	
AUSTRIAN STEAMSHIPS.		
UNIONE AUSTRIACA.		
Martha Washington	8,312	New York.
Dora	7,037	New York.
Erny	6,515	Boston.
Ida	4,730	New York.
Clara	3,932	New Orleans.
Teresa	3,769	New Orleans.
Anna	1,575	New Orleans.
Total	35,870	
D. TRPOVICH STEAMSHIP CO.		
Himalaja	4,948	New York.
Campania	3,551	Galveston.
Franconia	4,637	Philadelphia.
ATLANTICA SEA NAVIGATION CO. (LTD.).		
Morowitz	4,795	Galveston.
Budapest	3,651	Norfolk.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I ask the Senator from Massachusetts what is the total tonnage of the lines?

Mr. LODGE. Of the Hamburg-American Line it is 248,301 tons, and of the North German Lloyd Line it is 147,887 tons. Those are the two chief lines.

This list gives the names and tonnage of the Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd Lines and of some smaller lines, including the German-American Petroleum Co. I think the vessels of the small lines, except in the case of the Hansa Line, which is, I believe, controlled by the Hamburg-American Line, may be disregarded. They are very small vessels. I think we may also disregard the tank steamers of the German-American Petroleum Co., and I have seen nothing to indicate that the Government wished to extend its beneficent purposes to the ships of Austria. The vessels which it is believed the Government intends to purchase are those belonging to the North German Lloyd Line and the Hamburg-American Line. There are 38 ships belonging to those two lines now laid up at American ports. There are 4 at Baltimore, 2 at Philadelphia, 1 at New Orleans, 7 at Boston, 1 at Seattle, 1 at Norfolk, and 22 at New York. Of these vessels 13 are passenger ships, 9 passenger and freight ships, and 16 freight ships. Some of these passenger ships are of the finest type, and the *Vaterland* is conspicuously one of the greatest of modern Atlantic steamships. It is safe to say that none of these ships are fit for cargo ships and freighters. The ostensible purpose of this bill is to buy ships to carry freight. There is no lack whatever of passenger accommodations to Europe; on the contrary, the ships now on are all running very light and are probably losing money, owing to the small number of passengers. Let us therefore consider how suitable these passenger ships of the German lines are for the business which it is proposed to take care of under this bill, or for the South American trade, where they are not needed.

Speaking generally, it may be said that passenger ships on the North Atlantic route between Europe and the United States are wholly unfit for mere freight carrying. In proportion to their tonnage they have very little space for freight. Their engines are constructed for the highest speed; their coal bunkers are built to carry a very large amount of coal; their machinery, together with the accommodations for passengers, including dining saloons, reading rooms, bathrooms, and so forth, takes up a large amount of space, which leaves very little for cargo. The freight ordinarily carried in these vessels in normal times is what is generally called "fast freight," consisting of goods of great value and comparatively small weight and size, where speedy delivery at a high freight rate is desirable and where the goods are so valuable as to bear the rate without loss. To attempt to use ships like these as general cargo carriers would be absurd on its face. The articles we desire to export are articles of great bulk, such as grain, cotton, and metals, things which these ships in ordinary times never take. In order to make these ships of any value as cargo carriers they would have to be stripped of all their passenger fittings and, in a large measure, rebuilt, causing great expenditure as well as loss of time. It would be preposterous, economically speaking, to take any

steamer, for instance, of the *Kronprinzessin Cecilie* type, and use her simply as a freighter, and among the reasons why this would be so are: First, the initial cost of such a vessel; second, the cost of operation; third, the limited freight capacity. The figures I shall give cover the operation of the steamers, some of which would carry a large number of first, second, and third class passengers, with a limited cargo; others carrying a small number of passengers and a larger amount of cargo; and still others which carried no passengers but cargo only, among the latter type being such vessels as the *Bohemia*, *Rhaetia*, *Sarnia*, *Georgia*, and *Allemania*.

These are the type of freight steamers suitable for the carrying of ordinary cargo as distinguished from more valuable goods, which would ordinarily be forwarded by the better and faster steamers which are of the passenger type. No sensible shipping man would think of trying to operate in the South American trade a steamer like the *Kronprinzessin Cecilie*, for even if you should rip out of this steamer a great deal of her passenger accommodations the space occupied by her boilers and engines would be such a large percentage of the total space, and, further, her coal consumption would be so great, that the loss from operating such a ship in the South American trade would make the proposition absolutely prohibitory. Very few of the German ships laid up here could, even with the expenditure of considerable money, be made suitable for the South American trade. I am assuming for the moment that the original excuse about the South American trade is still extant. As a matter of fact it has faded away.

The only practical way of getting a steamer thoroughly suitable for any trade is to build her particularly for that trade. The operation in any trade of any steamers not suitable for that trade seriously increases the cost. Moreover, there are few harbors in South America that will take deep-draft steamers, and most of the German steamers laid up here are of that character. As an example, no steamer that draws over 22 feet is practicable for the Argentine trade, as she could not enter and leave Buenos Aires at all times, as this draft can only be exceeded under very exceptional circumstances of wind and tide.

If the bill is an emergency proposition, one of the most serious features in the shipping situation to-day, and which is making the handling of steamers very expensive, is not the shortage of cargo space but the seriously congested condition of all the prominent open ports of Europe, to many of which there is no use sending any more steamers, as they are now congested and unable to provide discharging facilities for those now waiting. This applies particularly to such ports as London, Havre, and Genoa, and, to some extent, Liverpool, and is aggravated materially by the scarcity of labor.

Every steamship is different, and the cost of turning her depends upon the number of passengers and amount of freight which she carries, and also the dispatch which she can be given at the respective terminals, and the weather conditions.

Steamships that have been built for particular trades are rarely suitable for other trades, and this applies especially to the North Atlantic trade as regards the passenger steamers and also the combination freight and passenger steamers; but it does not apply to the same extent on purely cargo steamers. Generally speaking, however, cargo steamers for the North Atlantic are more heavily constructed and have more speed than would have been given them had they been constructed for long-voyage trades, such as the South American, Australian, New Zealand and South African.

Passenger steamers constructed for the North Atlantic trade to carry 300 to 500 first class, 200 or 300 second class, and 1,500 to 2,000 third class, in addition to 7,000 or 8,000 tons of cargo, would be entirely unsuitable steamers for the South American trade—and those constitute almost the bulk of the German ships and of all other ships laid up in our ports—but those carrying fewer passengers with the same or more cargo capacity might be altered sufficiently to make them suitable. Altering old steamers, however, is always expensive, and usually it is not an economical undertaking.

The most suitable steamer for the South American trade, if any were needed, which is not the case, for we do not wish to send cotton and wheat to South America, would be one carrying from 100 to 200 cabin passengers, and from 300 to 400 third class passengers, with particularly good fittings—all accommodations to be adapted for the tropical trade—and with a cargo capacity of about 8,000 tons, a large proportion of which should be refrigerated space.

Considering the high price of coal in South America a steamship should be capable of carrying coal for practically the round voyage and, therefore, should not be expected to steam more than about 14 or 15 knots, but 12 knots would be more economical and more suitable for the trade.



I have dwelt a little on the South American trade to show, what perhaps it is needless to show in view of the fact that there is more cargo space to South America than we can fill, that these vessels which I am describing are unsuitable for the South American trade, because, when this proposition was first brought forward last summer, it was said, "Give us an opportunity to build up American commerce to South America."

Now consider what it costs to run these ships which it is proposed to buy. I take the expenses of the round voyage, from the best estimates I can get from gentlemen familiar with the shipping business, and I find that it costs for the round voyage between the United States and Europe, to turn the ships, as it is technically expressed:

<i>Vaterland</i> .....	\$200,000
<i>Kronprinzessin Cecilie</i> .....	125,000
<i>Kaiser Wilhelm II</i> .....	125,000
<i>George Washington</i> .....	125,000

Mr. McCUMBER. That is the cost for each vessel.

Mr. LODGE. The cost of one round trip in the case of each. I am giving them in classes.

Mr. ROOT. The cost for each voyage, both ways.

Mr. LODGE. The "turning" of the ship, going either to England or to Germany, as the case may be, and coming back to New York, or vice versa. It is a voyage across the Atlantic and back.

Mr. ROOT. One round trip.

Mr. LODGE. One round trip.

<i>America</i> .....	\$110,000
<i>Cincinnati</i> .....	100,000
<i>President Lincoln</i> .....	100,000
<i>President Grant</i> .....	100,000
<i>Grosser Kurfurst</i> .....	70,000
<i>Barbarossa</i> .....	70,000
<i>Prinzess Irene</i> .....	70,000
<i>Frederick Der Grosse</i> .....	70,000
<i>Rhein</i> .....	70,000
<i>Pennsylvania</i> .....	70,000
<i>Hamburg</i> .....	70,000

Imagine, if you can, running freight ships at such expenditures as these.

With two exceptions, the *Rhein* and *Pennsylvania*, these are ships carrying first, second, and third class passengers. The following ships carry only second and third class passengers: *Brandenburg*, *Breslau*, *Koln*, *Wittekind*, and *Prinz Oskar*. It costs \$60,000 to turn the *Brandenburg*, *Breslau*, *Koln*, and *Prinz Oskar*, and \$45,000 to turn the *Wittekind*. The *Armenia*, *Pisa*, and *Willehad* are immigrant ships and carry only third-class passengers, but it costs \$45,000 to turn each one of them.

The following ships belonging to the Hamburg-American Line—the North German Lloyd has no vessels laid up in our ports which are exclusively cargo boats—are simply freighters:

	Year built.	Tonnage.
<i>Bulgaria</i> .....	1898	11,440
<i>Konig Wilhelm II</i> .....	1907	9,410
<i>Bohemia</i> .....	1902	8,414
<i>Prinz Joachim</i> .....	1903	4,760
<i>Prinz Eitel Friedrich</i> .....	1901	4,650
<i>Allemania</i> .....	1893	4,630
<i>Massovia</i> .....	1901	3,902
<i>Sarnia</i> .....	1892	3,402
<i>Georgia</i> .....	1891	3,143
<i>Graecia</i> .....	1890	2,753

These are the only cargo boats, carrying nothing but freight, among those which it is proposed to buy. There are among them three large freighters, of 11,000, 9,000, and 8,000 tons. but only one of these is a modern ship, the *Konig Wilhelm II*, built in 1907. The dates of the building of the others range between 1890 and 1903. Several of them are more than 20 years old, are very small for modern freighters, and would be a poor purchase, with two or three exceptions.

This is the fleet which it is apparently proposed to buy, a fleet which was excellent for the purposes for which it was intended—the North Atlantic passenger service—the primary business being to carry passengers and freight. The freighters are largely for the South American trade, and, as I have said, they are mostly old and, with two or three exceptions, small. To purchase for the Government the passenger ships would be simply to throw away the money of the United States. To buy the cargo boats would be to load ourselves with a lot of old boats, some of them too old and too small to be at all desirable and too small altogether to bring any very substantial relief, if relief is needed. And yet to buy anything except the cargo ships would be monstrous. Some of these German ships, I believe, have been employed in the South American trade, and what we need are cargo steamers for the North Atlantic.

These, as I have said, must be more heavily constructed and have more speed than boats constructed for long-voyage trades, such as the South American, New Zealand, Australian, and South African. A very few of these ships could be used to advantage, no doubt, in the North Atlantic trade, but, as a whole, for one reason or another, this fleet of the North German Lloyd and the Hamburg-American Lines is singularly ill fitted for the alleged purposes of this bill or to give the relief to the freight situation which, it is said, is needed. No intelligent man engaged in shipping would think of buying these ships, or, at most, more than two or three of them, for the alleged purposes of this bill. We ought to be protected not only against the international perils arising from the purchase of the German ships laid up at New York and Boston and other ports, but also from the intolerable waste of the public money which the purchase of these ships, as a fleet, or generally, would involve.

When we come to examine the character of these ships with care—I have done it very inadequately, but sufficiently for my purpose—the question at once arises, Why is it so earnestly desired to buy them?—for with care and effort we could get cargo carriers from our coastwise trade or from other neutral nations. We could pick up ships of the proper type here and there, and yet it is perfectly evident that the plan of the bill and the plan of the administration is to buy the German ships en bloc, or a very large number of them. Why? I am not alone in asking this question. Let me read an editorial from the Chicago Tribune of January 12, 1915, which I happened to see the other day:

#### WHAT IS BEHIND THE SHIP-PURCHASE BILL?

Secretary McAdoo's address in this city on the ship-purchase bill may have been intended to be direct and pointed, but as a matter of fact it was evasive and superficial. It failed to deal with the most fundamental objection to the measure; it did not attempt to justify what all intelligent critics regard as its inherent and incurable defect or vice.

That vice is this—that the bill rests on no definite, acknowledged theory. Its sponsors can't agree on any defense of it. The President gave us one theory in his message, and Secretary McAdoo hinted at another one in his speech, but neither adhered to his theory, and both contradicted themselves.

If the bill is an emergency proposal called forth by the great war, then it should frankly be advocated as a makeshift and stop-gap, and, moreover, as Senator BURTON has said, the alleged emergency should be demonstrated by relevant facts and figures. This demonstration is not forthcoming; certain misleading figures have been cited, but the shipping and transportation experts have repudiated the interpretation put on the figures by the sponsors of the bill. No business authority has been or can be quoted in its favor.

If, on the other hand, the bill is not an emergency proposal, but a serious and constructive piece of legislation designed to give impetus to the development of a merchant marine, then the very worst time has been unhappily and absurdly chosen for the introduction and passage of such a measure. A time of stress and uncertainty, of unprecedented disturbances in trade and shipping, a time altogether anomalous from every financial and business viewpoint, is assuredly not the time to try to take a momentous step toward the establishment of a merchant marine. We have waited 50 years, says Mr. McAdoo, forgetting that he has advanced the emergency view of the bill. Well, if we have waited 50 years, we can wait another year or two; we can wait till peace has been reestablished and normal conditions have been restored. The sensible man does not during a baffling crisis sit down to deliberate on lines of policy to be pursued under ordinary and normal conditions.

What alternative course do you propose? ask the defenders of the bill. Alternative to what theory, in what sense—as an emergency measure or normal and permanent one?

The simple truth is, neither Secretary McAdoo, nor Senator FLETCHER, nor anybody else has considered or met the many objections to their bill that the minority of the Senate committee or the chambers of commerce have advanced in reports and circulars. They have dealt in mere generalities and charged "partisanship." Mr. McAdoo "deplored" the fact that "great men" will fight a good bill solely because it is "sponsored by an opposite party." Before deploring that alleged fact he should have answered the arguments—the facts, figures, and reasoning—of the minority and the business men just referred to. He did nothing of the kind. Those arguments remain unanswered, as we shall show, and the charge of partisanship is gratuitous and totally unwarranted. The stubborn insistence of the administration respecting this dubious departure is in direct proportion to the feebleness of the arguments advanced for it. As the debate proceeds and this fact develops, curiosity is aroused.

Why is this bill being pressed so vigorously? What is the pressure behind it? Certainly not the pressure of overwhelming facts and cogent reasoning, for they would be brought forward.

It is not cynicism but common sense, therefore, that asks for more light.

What is behind the ship-purchase bill?

I confess I am entirely unable to answer the question of the Chicago Tribune, and I do not know that there is anything behind this bill except the desires of the administration. I am certain, however, that there are no good reasons or arguments in its favor, and I am sure that to allow it to become law without some provision protecting us against the purchase of the ships of belligerents, and the consequent international complications, will make it a very bad bill, indeed, for the American people, setting aside for the moment all the grave objections to Government ownership, upon which I shall hope to speak at another time.

The economic side of this bill is of enormous importance; the question of whether the Government shall own steamships



is of the greatest magnitude economically; the importance of the measure can not be overestimated; but these all sink into insignificance compared with the dangers which surround this bill if it passes without some prohibition against the purchase of belligerent-owned ships. I am not going further into that question to-day; but for the Government to take belligerent-owned ships—I do not care whether they be German ships or English ships, as I have heard it said it is intended to acquire the latter—whatever belligerent-owned ships are bought and put into the north Atlantic trade will bring this country and this people into international complications which will be within easily measurable distance of war or humiliation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BRYAN). The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] to the original bill.

Mr. SMOOT. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The absence of a quorum being suggested, the Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Hardwick	Oliver	Smith, Mich.
Bankhead	Hitchcock	Overman	Smoot
Brady	Hughes	Owen	Sterling
Brandeggee	James	Page	Stone
Bryan	Jones	Perkins	Sutherland
Camden	Kenyon	Pomerene	Thomas
Catron	Kern	Ransdell	Thornton
Chamberlain	La Follette	Reed	Tillman
Culberson	Lane	Robinson	Townsend
Cummins	Lee, Tenn.	Root	Vardaman
Dillingham	Lee, Md.	Shafroth	Warren
du Pont	Lodge	Sheppard	White
Fletcher	McCumber	Sherman	Williams
Gallinger	Martin, Va.	Simmons	
Gore	Martine, N. J.	Smith, Ariz.	
Gronna	Norris	Smith, Ga.	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Sixty-one Senators having responded to their names, there is a quorum present.

Mr. ROOT. Mr. President, a day or two ago I gave notice that I would speak to-morrow, Saturday. In order to accommodate myself to the convenience of others I will change that notice to Monday, and will speak on Monday, with the permission of the Senate, at as early an hour as I can secure the floor.

I wish to say, if I may be permitted, that I shall devote some considerable attention to a question which was put by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] regarding the rule of international law as to good faith in the transfer of merchant vessels from a belligerent to a neutral flag in time of war.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I have heard some suggestions to the effect that certain commercial organizations have passed resolutions opposing the pending bill and that apparently no commercial organizations or representatives of business interests anywhere have favored the bill. I am just in receipt of a telegram which I will ask the Secretary to read in that connection, and also a resolution of the Board of Trade of Jacksonville.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the Secretary will read as requested. The Chair hears none.

The Secretary read as follows:

CHICAGO, ILL., January 22, 1915.

HON. DUNCAN U. FLETCHER,  
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The directors of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association in special meeting January 20 make the following presentation to the Senators and Representatives from Illinois in Congress:

"The manufacturers of the Middle West want Congress to pass the ship-purchase bill because they believe that American ships are the only means by which the ocean rate competition can be met. Their foreign trade can not be developed with foreigners fixing the tariff for the hauling of their goods.

"The Illinois Manufacturers' Association has been the greatest agency in the Middle West for the stimulation of foreign trade. It has consistently and persistently kept up the agitation for years. It believes the American manufacturer is about to reap a harvest. Interest is developing in every direction. One thing, and one thing only, stands in the way, and that is that America does not control the ships carrying the American products."

You are therefore respectfully requested to use all your influence and to vote to secure the passage of the ship-purchase bill.

EDWARD N. HURLEY, President.

JACKSONVILLE, FLA., December 23, 1914.

Whereas it has been brought to the attention of the board of governors of the Jacksonville Board of Trade that there is now pending a bill before the United States Senate to authorize the United States, acting through a shipping board, to subscribe to the capital stock of a corporation to be organized under the laws of the United States, etc., and numbered Senate bill 6856; and

Whereas this organization thinks that this is a bill calculated to be of immense help in opening up routes of trade and getting our products to market: Therefore be it

Resolved by the board of governors of the Jacksonville Board of Trade in regular session assembled, That we most heartily approve the bill and urge its passage. Be it further

Resolved, That our Representatives in Congress, and particularly our Senators, be requested to use their best endeavors to secure the passage of the bill at an early date.

[SEAL.]

JACKSONVILLE BOARD OF TRADE,  
CHAS. H. MANN, President.  
W. N. CONOLEY, Secretary.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Florida if Mr. Hurley, who signed the memorial in behalf of the Manufacturers' Association, is the same gentleman who has been tendered a position upon the Federal Trade Commission by President Wilson within the last few days?

Mr. FLETCHER. I really do not know as to that, Mr. President. I understand this is a very responsible and very influential and large organization in Chicago, composed in very large majority, anyhow, of prominent Republicans.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; I have no doubt about that. I think it is a thoroughly representative organization; but I do know that the Mr. Hurley who signed the memorial is the man who has just been tendered by the President a place on the new Trade Commission.

Mr. FLETCHER. I do not suppose the Senator questions the accuracy of the statement?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, no; but it harmonizes very well with the plan for an official propaganda upon which the administration seems to rely for approval of its acts.

Mr. FLETCHER. I should be glad if the Senator would inform us how he knows that Mr. Hurley has been tendered this position. I never have heard of it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The semiofficial announcement has been made through the public press. I do not know whether the President has changed his mind about it or not. Two or three days ago Mr. Hurley was on the list given out at the White House, and this communication indicates his excellent qualifications for the place.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield for a suggestion?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Certainly. I have not the floor, however.

Mr. ROBINSON. I saw a statement in the public press a day or two ago that a Mr. Hurley, of Seattle, Wash., was—

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, no; that is a different man, a Progressive in Seattle—Will H. Perry, I believe. Mr. Hurley, who is quite well known in Illinois, I think, is entitled to this favor at the hands of the Democratic Party. Anyone who can swallow this bill without a grimace is deserving of prompt attention at the hands of the President.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, in the interests of accuracy I will say that it is Mr. Parry.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Very well. I do not know what it will be after the next election. I know he was shorn somewhat of some of his features in the last election, although he is nevertheless an excellent man.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. Parry was a great Republican hero, the head of the Manufacturers' Association, and testified before our lobby committee.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, I ask permission to submit a resolution to have it referred to the Indian Affairs Committee.

Mr. SMOOT. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is made.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, I should like to add that Mr. Edward N. Hurley was part of the "insidious lobby" here during the tariff legislation in 1913. I can identify him as being here quite frequently in favor of free trade.

Mr. FLETCHER. That is not a resolution by Mr. Hurley, it is a resolution of this organization. Whatever may be said about Mr. Hurley has no application.

Mr. OVERMAN. If this is Mr. Hurley, I misunderstood the name. It was Mr. Parry to whom I referred.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. His name is Parry. My inquiry related entirely to Mr. Hurley.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending question is the amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, it is now nearly 4 o'clock. The senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] intended to speak, but expected to start before this time. I will ask the Senator from Indiana [Mr. KERN] if it would serve the purposes of the majority as well for the Senate to go into executive session at this time, so that the Senator from New Hampshire can start upon his speech in the morning rather than to break it, as starting at this hour of the day would do?

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. KERN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 35 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.



## ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BRYAN) announced the signature of the Vice President to the following enrolled bills, which had heretofore been signed by the Speaker of the House:

S. 4012. An act to increase the limit of cost of the United States public building at Grand Junction, Colo.; and  
S. 6309. An act to establish the Rocky Mountain National Park in the State of Colorado, and for other purposes.

S. W. LANGHORNE.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the request of the House of Representatives to be furnished a duplicate copy of the bill (S. 2334) for the relief of S. W. Langhorne and the legal representatives of H. S. Howell, and, by unanimous consent, the request was ordered to be complied with.

## PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. ROBINSON presented petitions of sundry citizens of Batesville, Ark., praying that an appropriation be made for the construction of seven locks and dams on the upper White River above Batesville, Ark., for the improvement of navigation, which were referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. OLIVER presented petitions of sundry citizens of Pennsylvania, praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the exportation of ammunition, etc., which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a memorial of the Board of Trade of Philadelphia, Pa., remonstrating against the ratification of the proposed treaty with Colombia, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of the Retail Grocers' Protective Union of Pittsburgh, Pa., praying for the enactment of legislation to prevent the unfair practice of cutting prices on standard goods, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Monessen, Pa., praying for the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution to prohibit polygamy, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented memorials of sundry citizens of Stoneboro, Pa., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation to increase the Army and Navy equipment, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. GALLINGER presented the memorial of John H. Bartlett, of Manchester, N. H., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation restricting the freedom of the press, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

He also presented the petition of A. O. Wharton, president of the Railroad Employees, Department of the American Federation of Labor, of St. Louis, Mo., praying for the enactment of legislation requiring the employment of competent inspectors in connection with the administration of locomotive-boiler safety-appliance laws, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. McLEAN presented petitions of the German-American Alliance of Meriden; the Lyra Singing Society, of Meriden; and of sundry citizens of Danbury, all in the State of Connecticut, praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the exportation of ammunition, etc., which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of the Typographical Union of New Britain, Conn., praying for the enactment of legislation to regulate interstate commerce in convict-made goods, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SHIVELY presented a petition of the Trades and Labor Union of Kokomo, Ind., praying for the enactment of legislation to regulate interstate commerce of convict-made goods, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented petitions of the Young Woman's Christian Union of Elkhart; of the congregations of the First Brethren Church of Elkhart; the Christian Church of Millersburg; the Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church, of Elkhart; the Lutheran Church of Middleburg; and the Christian Church of Clinton, all in the State of Indiana, praying for Government censorship of moving-picture films, which were referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also presented the petition of L. A. Cox, James Cochran, J. R. Beck, and 320 other citizens of Columbus, Ind., praying for the repeal of the present migratory-bird law, which was referred to the Committee on Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game.

Mr. TILLMAN presented a petition of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Order of Railway Conductors, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, and Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen in the transportation department of the Seaboard Air Line Railroad, of Hamlet, N. C., praying for

the extension of the Federal inspection of locomotive boilers, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Maiden, Hickory, Hudson, Gasto, Granite Falls, and Callettsville, all in the State of North Carolina, praying that just and fair relief be granted the railway mail employees over the Carolina & Northwestern Railway, which were referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

## FEDERAL AID TO POST ROADS.

Mr. GRONNA. I submit the report of the Joint Committee on Federal Aid in the Construction of Post Roads, and ask that it be received and printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. SHIVELY:

A bill (S. 7359) granting an increase of pension to James A. McAllister;

A bill (S. 7360) granting an increase of pension to Isaiah Griner; and

A bill (S. 7361) granting a pension to William Meyers; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SMOOT:

A bill (S. 7362) authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to patent certain lands to the State of Utah, and to accept relinquishment from the State of Utah of certain other lands in lieu thereof; to the Committee on Public Lands.

## AMENDMENT TO POST OFFICE APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. GALLINGER submitted an amendment providing that superintendent of mails and other supervisory employees in post offices shall receive pay while absent from duty caused by injuries received while on duty, the same as all other post-office employees, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the Post Office appropriation bill (H. R. 19906), which was ordered to be printed and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

## THE MERCHANT MARINE (S. DOC. NO. 715).

Mr. NELSON. I have received a letter from the president of the Chamber of Commerce of Boston, Mass., transmitting a report of the committee on merchant marine, relative to the pending bills providing for Government ownership and operation of merchant vessels in the trade between the Atlantic, Gulf, or Pacific ports of the United States and the ports of Central and South America and elsewhere. I ask that the report may be printed as a public document.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## A FOREST POLICY FOR TEXAS.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I have an article prepared by J. S. Peters, Chief of State Cooperation, United States Forest Service, on the question of a forest policy for Texas. I desire to have the article printed as a document, and with that view ask that it be referred to the Committee on Printing.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the article will be referred to the Committee on Printing for action.

## COAST GUARD.

Mr. TOWNSEND. On yesterday the Chair laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to Senate bill 2337, and the Senator from Utah [Mr. Smoot] asked that the bill and amendments lie on the table and be printed. I now ask that the amendments be taken up and acted upon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2337) to create the Coast Guard by combining therein the existing Life-Saving Service and the Revenue-Cutter Service.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I move that the Senate concur in the amendments of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

## MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 6121) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Niagara River, in the town of Lewiston, in the county of Niagara and State of New York.

The message also announced that the House agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 20241) making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year 1915 and prior years, and for other purposes.



## ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The message further announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled bill (H. R. 20241) making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year 1915 and for prior years, and for other purposes, and it was thereupon signed by the presiding officer as the Acting President pro tempore.

## RECESS.

Mr. KERN. I move that the Senate take a recess until Monday morning next at 11 o'clock.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m., Friday, January 22, 1915) the Senate took a recess until Monday, January 25, 1915, at 11 o'clock a. m.

## CONFIRMATIONS.

*Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 22 (legislative day of January 15), 1915.*

## COMMISSIONER FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Louis Brownlow to be a Commissioner for the District of Columbia.

## RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Martin N. Fegtly to be receiver of public moneys at Vale, Oreg.

## REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE.

Nathaniel Campbell to be register of the land office at Portland, Oreg.

## PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Commander Herman O. Stickney to be a captain.  
Lieut. Commander Ivan C. Wettengel to be a commander.  
The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade):  
George W. Hewlett,  
Frank S. Carter, and  
John M. Ashley.  
Ensign James D. Moore to be a lieutenant (junior grade).

## POSTMASTERS.

## ALABAMA.

Theresa C. Spink, Grand Bay.

## ARIZONA.

Ella G. Clarke, Florence.

## CALIFORNIA.

T. C. H. De Lapp, Huntington Beach.  
Charles L. Gassaway, Banning.  
K. D. Harger, Riverside.  
Henry E. Smith, Taft.

## COLORADO.

James Brennan, Grand Valley.  
Mary Farrell, Aspen.  
D. W. Shores, Carbondale.

## CONNECTICUT.

W. R. Monroe, Coscob.

## GEORGIA.

W. A. Enterkin, Temple.

## ILLINOIS.

P. M. Biwer, Lincoln.

## INDIANA.

John L. Rohde, Hammond.  
Merrimon Straughn, Cambridge City.

## IOWA.

Frank W. Eichoff, Muscatine.  
Walter E. Witten, Sloan.

## KANSAS.

James T. Braddock, Madison.  
John F. Hostetler, Great Bend.  
W. A. McClure, Baldwin City.  
W. S. Twist, Bonner Springs.

## KENTUCKY.

Willis Green Bandy, Irvington.  
Andrew M. Edwards, New Castle.  
Helen L. Gurney, Erlanger.  
John B. Lasley, Lewisburg.  
Allie Reid, Brandenburg.  
George T. Smith, Beattyville.  
Edward F. Yelton, Butler.

## LOUISIANA.

Frank J. Maricelli, jr., Campiti.

## MICHIGAN.

Clyde O. Barrett, Mackinaw.  
Ward J. Kelly, Crystal Falls.  
Charles J. Tarte, Marine City.

## MINNESOTA.

Frank X. Eickmann, Glencoe.  
Jacob Gish, Le Sueur.  
James D. Griggs, Truman.

## MISSISSIPPI.

Virginia B. Duckworth, Prentiss.  
L. M. McClure, Ocean Springs.  
James T. Skelton, Goodman.

## MISSOURI.

William H. Alexander, Paris.  
George H. Applegate, Keytesville.  
James T. Dearmont, Mound City.  
John H. Nelson, Lewistown.  
Dow S. Pollard, Cowgill.  
William J. Rouse, Monroe City.  
Edward Smyth, New Hampton.  
Bayard C. Wilson, Lawson.

## NEBRASKA.

Edward H. Bishop, Central City.  
A. S. Campbell, Imperial.  
William H. Hartsick, Westpoint.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

John N. Grimes, Troy.

## NEW JERSEY.

James D. Carpenter, Woodbury.

## NORTH CAROLINA.

Stephen L. Ross, Robersonville.  
William B. Walker, Andrews.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

David Duncan, Whitmire.  
Benjamin J. Hammet, Blackville.  
Samuel E. Owen, St. Matthews.  
John W. Peeples, Estill.

## TEXAS.

Walter C. Blalock, Linden.  
William E. Cage, Pharr.  
Horace B. Cooper, Quinlan.  
J. T. Cox, Groesbeck.  
J. A. Kercheville, Devine.  
George P. Lillard, Seguin.  
D. L. Lunn, Humble.  
T. L. D. Richardson, Jourdan.  
James T. Tarlton, Gunter.  
Elmo D. McCage, Aubrey.

## UTAH.

Walter K. Granger, Cedar City.  
L. P. Nelson, Mount Pleasant.

## WASHINGTON.

Stonewall J. Craig, Clarkston.  
George T. Heslin, Newport.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, January 22, 1915.

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Profoundly sensible, O God our Father, of our utter dependence upon Thee for every pulsation of the heart, for every thought and act, most reverently we bow in Thy presence and devoutly pray for Thy guidance, that in all the duties and responsibilities of the hour we may faithfully and conscientiously strive to fulfill the desires of Thy heart. In the spirit of the Lord Christ our Savior. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

## ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. CARLIN. Mr. Speaker, I make the point that no quorum is present.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will count.

Mr. CARLIN. I will withhold the point for the present.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, by request of the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, I ask unanimous consent



that a session be held Monday evening, January 25, for the consideration of bills H. R. 21037 and H. R. 21089, one being from the Committee on Invalid Pensions and the other from the Committee on Pensions; that the House recess from 5 o'clock until 8 o'clock, and that no other business be transacted.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent that next Monday at 5 o'clock the House shall stand in recess until 8 o'clock, when there shall be a session, to extend not later than 11 o'clock, to consider two bills from the Pension Committees, and that no other business shall be transacted at that session. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Reserving the right to object, would it not be better to make the bills in order after we finish the military appropriation bill? This might cost us more time than the other way.

Mr. SHERWOOD. I would have no objection to that.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. The chairman of the Military Committee, the gentleman from Virginia, desires to finish the military bill to-day, even if it should run into a night session, and to-morrow take up another appropriation bill. We can change the order if it becomes necessary.

Mr. MANN. I should say that if we pass the Army appropriation bill to-night we can pass the pension bills after that.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I am informed that the pension bills will not take over 40 minutes.

Mr. MANN. I shall not object.

Mr. HAY. I will say that it is my purpose to finish the Army appropriation bill to-night, if I can keep gentlemen on the floor.

Mr. MANN. I have no objection to that; but when we recess at 5 o'clock in order to have an evening session at 8 o'clock, to pass a bill that it is supposed will take about 40 minutes, we lose the hour between 5 and 6 o'clock to begin with. I shall not object to the request.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I will say to the gentleman from Illinois that it may be that when we reach Monday we can set aside the order by unanimous consent. There is no contest about these pension bills. I merely want to satisfy the gentleman from Ohio that the opportunity will be given, and we can set aside the order later, if an opportune time comes for the consideration of the pension bills.

Mr. MANN. I do not object.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SHERWOOD]?

Mr. CARLIN. I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia objects.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. The gentleman understands, does he, that this request is for Monday—not for to-day?

Mr. CARLIN. I withdraw my objection to the request.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia withdraws his objection. Is there objection?

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Reserving the right to object, I should like to have a proviso, if the leave is granted, that it shall not interfere with the business of District of Columbia day.

The SPEAKER. This is for a night session.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. I know it is; but still I would like to have that reservation.

Mr. MANN. I understood the other day that the gentleman was satisfied with this arrangement.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. JOHNSON] insists on a proviso that this shall not interfere with the business of his committee on Monday.

Mr. MANN. I would not consent to a night session for District business in this way.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. I will not ask for one.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman from Ohio only asks for a night session.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. We might run as late as that.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, we can not determine at this time whether District of Columbia business can have Monday or not. It may be that we shall need the day for the consideration of appropriation bills, but we can set aside the night session by unanimous consent if it is necessary.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

#### GOVERNMENT MANUFACTURE OF MUNITIONS OF WAR.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record on the subject of Government manufacture of munitions of war.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. TAVENNER] asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the

Record on the subject of the manufacture of munitions of war. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

#### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, it was my purpose to ask that the District of Columbia appropriation bill (H. R. 19422) be taken from the Speaker's table and sent to conference, but at the request of a number of gentlemen within the last few minutes I will defer it, and I give notice that I shall make that motion to-morrow morning immediately after the reading of the Journal.

#### ARMY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 20347) making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the Army appropriation bill (H. R. 20347), with Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee in the chair.

The Clerk read as follows:

Contingencies, military information section, General Staff Corps: For contingent expenses of the military information section, General Staff Corps, including the purchase of law books, professional books of reference; periodicals and newspapers; and of the military attachés at the United States embassies and legations abroad; and of the branch office of the military information section at Manila; to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War, \$11,000: *Provided*, That section 3648, Revised Statutes, shall not apply to subscriptions for foreign and professional newspapers and periodicals to be paid for from this appropriation: *Provided further*, That the actual and necessary expenses of officers of the Army who after July 1, 1914, have been on duty abroad for the purpose of observing operations of armies of foreign States at war, and of officers who may hereafter be on duty abroad for that purpose, shall be paid out of the appropriation for contingencies of the military information section, General Staff Corps, upon certificates of the Secretary of War that the expenditures were necessary for obtaining military information; and the amount appropriated for such contingencies by an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915," approved April 27, 1914, is increased to \$26,000.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order on the last proviso.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, it is subject to a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. CRISP). The Chair sustains the point of order. The last proviso will be stricken from the bill, and the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

United States service schools: To provide means for the theoretical and practical instruction at the Army service schools (including the Army Staff College, the Army School of the Line, the Army Field Engineer School, the Army Field Service School and Correspondence School for Medical Officers, and the Army Signal School) at Fort Leavenworth, Kans., the Mounted Service School at Fort Riley, Kans., and the School of Fire for Field Artillery and for the School of Musketry at Fort Sill, Okla., by the purchase of textbooks, books of reference, scientific and professional papers, the purchase of modern instruments and material for theoretical and practical instruction, employment of temporary, technical, or special services, and for all other absolutely necessary expenses, to be allotted in such proportions as may, in the opinion of the Secretary of War, be for the best interests of the military service, \$35,350.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Vermont offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 4, after line 12, insert: "For pay of one translator, at \$100 per month, to be appointed by the commandant of the Army service schools, \$1,200.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order until we have some explanation.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin reserves a point of order.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Mr. Chairman, I introduced this amendment at the request of my colleague on the committee, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. AVIS], who is not able to be present this morning, but who has left with me a memorandum in which are set forth the reasons for offering the amendment.

"The translating to be done is of a highly technical nature, requiring an expert knowledge of military matters and experience of the military service. The position can not be properly filled by one from the civil service, however well qualified in a linguistic way, as such person will lack the experience of military service and knowledge of the technical military terms and expressions. The translator whom it is desired to employ has had 30 years' service as an enlisted man and officer, and



has been engaged for years upon this line of work and is thoroughly competent in every way."

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Certainly.

Mr. STAFFORD. What is the special need of such legislation? Is this merely a provision to give employment to some one individual?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I can only say that in this particular instance I am executing a commission, as I have indicated, and have no further light or information in regard to the matter.

Mr. STAFFORD. Has the amendment ever been submitted to the committee for consideration?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I understand the chairman of the committee may have some knowledge of it. At least, the subject was brought to his attention.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I have not any more information than has the gentleman from Vermont, but after looking into it I see no objection to the adoption of the amendment.

Mr. STAFFORD. Has not the department an opportunity today to appoint a translator from the civil list, if it sees fit?

Mr. HAY. I do not know about that; but the wording of this amendment takes it out of the civil service and puts it into the hands of the man who commands the school. It takes it out of the civil service.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. The very purpose of taking it out of the civil service is to prevent the possibility of some schoolmaster somewhere, who does not understand anything about the Army, qualifying under the technical requirements of the civil-service examination, but knowing nothing about the real atmosphere and detail of military matters.

Mr. STAFFORD. As I understand, the discretion is put in the head of the school?

Mr. HAY. To be appointed by the commandant.

Mr. STAFFORD. Relieved of the limitation of civil service?

Mr. HAY. Yes.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman from Vermont yield?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Certainly.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Does not the reason that the gentleman has just stated for taking this particular appointment out of the hands of the Civil Service Commission and turning it over to the special branch of the public service in which the man will be employed apply with equal force to many other places in the Government service that are now left absolutely with what he calls the schoolmaster system and the ability to qualify technically, and so forth?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I dare say. The best judgment I could give on that question, I will say to the gentleman, is that every tub should stand upon its own bottom, and the merits of each individual question I could better pass on when I know to what particular case the gentleman refers.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Oh, I refer to many of them.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I would not want to give very diversified information upon generalities at this time, with this amendments at stake. [Laughter.]

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman inform the committee what is the practice in respect to the appointment of instructors in our various schools where the instructor teaches general subjects of education?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I understand that in the Army schools generally the instructors are appointed to give instruction in military matters, the science of war, and the school of the soldier, and so on, and are taken from the regular line of the Army by detail.

Mr. STAFFORD. I refer to instructors outside of those of tactical matters; for instance, instructors in the languages, and the like.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Academic studies?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes; scientific and academic. Are those instructors appointed from the civil-service list or are they appointed from the service generally?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. These men at West Point have been there for years. I do not know how most of them secured their appointments. They have been there and have been retained in the service for many years, as I understand it, in most instances.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin make the point of order?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the reservation.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Vermont.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. BATHRICK) there were—ayes 36, noes 1.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

#### THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT.

Contingencies, headquarters of military departments, and tactical commands: For contingent expenses at the headquarters of the several territorial departments, territorial districts, tactical divisions and brigades, including the staff corps serving thereat, being for the purchase of the necessary articles of office, toilet, and desk furniture, stationery, ice, and potable water for office use when necessary, binding, maps, technical books of reference, professional and technical newspapers and periodicals, payment for which may be made in advance, and police utensils, to be allotted by the Secretary of War, and to be expended in the discretion of the commanding officers of the several military departments, districts, and technical commands, \$7,500.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend, on page 5, line 2, by striking out the word "technical" and inserting the word "tactical."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

#### OFFICE OF THE CHIEF SIGNAL OFFICER.

Signal Service of the Army: For expenses of the Signal Service of the Army, as follows: Purchase, equipment, and repair of field electric telegraphs, signal equipments, and stores, binocular glasses, telescopes, heliostats, and other necessary instruments, including necessary meteorological instruments for use on target ranges; war balloons and airships, and accessories, including their maintenance and repair; telephone apparatus (exclusive of exchange service) and maintenance of the same; electrical installations and maintenance at military posts; fire control and direction apparatus and matériel for field artillery; maintenance and repair of military telegraph lines and cables, including salaries of civilian employees, supplies, and general repairs, and other expenses connected with the duty of collecting and transmitting information for the Army by telegraph or otherwise, \$600,000.

Provided, That not more than \$500 of the foregoing shall be used for the cost of special technical instruction of officers of said section.

Provided, however, That not more than \$300,000 shall be used for the purchase, maintenance, operation, and repair of airships and other aerial machines and accessories necessary in the aviation section: *Provided*, That hereafter the Signal Corps may exchange typewriters and adding machines in the purchase of similar equipment.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

In line 4, page 7, after the figures "\$300,000," insert the words, "of the foregoing appropriation."

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HAY. I also desire to offer the following amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

After the word "section," in line 7, page 7, insert the words, "and for the purchase, maintenance, repair, and operation of motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles which may be necessary for the aviation section."

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on that.

Mr. HAY. I would rather for the gentleman to make the point of order.

Mr. FOSTER. I will make the point of order for this reason: There was a proviso in the legislative bill of last year which said that these motor-propelled, passenger-carrying vehicles should be estimated for and specifically appropriated for in the appropriation bill, and my understanding of that law was—and if I am wrong I am willing to withdraw the point of order—that they should estimate the number, and that number should be provided in the bill. Now, if I am wrong about that, that is all I have to say. In the Indian appropriation bill there was a provision, as gentlemen will remember, stating how many should be purchased of this kind of vehicles. The provision which the gentleman from Virginia has here does not differ from the old law, which provided that motor-propelled vehicles should be purchased out of certain appropriations in the bill. The same provision exists, I will say to the gentleman, further along in the bill, where it provides for the purchase of these vehicles; and what I am doing this for is to know whether that provision of the law should apply in reference to the naming of the number of vehicles that should be purchased or whether they shall be estimated for, and then the bill shall provide the same as it has done in the past, without any specific number, as has been done for years. As I understand the provision further along in the bill, it does give them the right to purchase any number they may see fit, so far as the appropriation will go, regardless of estimates. I judge they possibly would not do that, but I think in all fairness to this provision we put into the law there ought to be something of that kind, so that Congress may know how many are going to be purchased out of this appropriation. The only reason I make this point of order is to determine whether or not this does comply with the law. If it does, of course the law goes along in the same old way it did before, except we get estimates, and they can exceed them if they so desire in the



purchase of these machines out of the appropriation which is given by Congress. Now, I spoke to the gentleman from Virginia before this bill was under consideration in reference to the matter. I have not the old law at hand which I could quote to the Chairman, but it was a provision put in the legislative bill of last year—section 5, I think, if I remember—but the Chair no doubt has that law and is familiar with the provision which was contained in the bill at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like for the gentleman from Illinois to state his point of order.

Mr. FOSTER. The point of order is that they must be specifically provided for in the bill, and the intention of Congress was to have the number estimated for, the number that they proposed to purchase, and that number should be provided for in the bill. That is the point of order that I make against this amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the gentleman that statute before him? The Chair is not familiar with it.

Mr. MANN. I have the statute, which I shall be glad to send to the Chair.

Mr. FOSTER. I have not the statute right at my hand, and I will be obliged to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MANN. It is section 5 of the legislative bill, which reads as follows:

SEC. 5. No appropriation made in this or any other act shall be available for the purchase of any motor-propelled or horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicle for the service of any of the executive departments or other Government establishments, or any branch of the Government service, unless specific authority is given therefor, and after the close of the fiscal year 1915 there shall not be expended out of any appropriation made by Congress any sum for purchase, maintenance, repair, or operation of motor-propelled or horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles for any branch of the public service of the United States unless the same is specifically authorized by law, and in the estimates for the fiscal year 1916 and subsequent fiscal years there shall be submitted in detail estimates for such necessary appropriations as are intended to be used for purchase, maintenance, repair, or operation of all motor-propelled or horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles, specifying the sums required, the public purposes for which said vehicles are intended, and the officials or employees by whom the same are to be used.

Mr. FOSTER. I think under section 5 the intention of Congress was that they should estimate for the number, and that number should be placed in the bill. Now, I am not going into the merits of this at all or as to the necessity for them, but I think it is right we should have this ruling, and we should know whether or not there should be a specific appropriation in the bill for the number of these motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I do not think the amendment is subject to a point of order. The matter was discussed quite fully in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union when the Indian appropriation bill was under consideration, and quite a length of time was taken with a discussion of the matter involving the same principle, and the Chairman of that committee held that the item was in order.

That is the authority which is required by the statute. With out this authority in making the appropriation no portion of the appropriation could be expended for the purchase of motor or other passenger-carrying vehicles. It is true the statute requires that estimates shall be made in detail, but that is a provision carried as to a great many items in estimates, which are not carried in appropriation bills. That is for the information of the committee making up the appropriation bills and for other Members of the House, but we constantly require a greater detail in estimates than we carry in the appropriation. The Committee on Military Affairs could not make up this appropriation bill, which largely consists of lump-sum appropriations, without more detailed information and more details in the appropriation than are carried in the bill. Is not that correct?

Mr. HAY. That is correct.

Mr. MANN. That is true of all the appropriations.

Mr. HAY. And I may say, Mr. Chairman, that there was an estimate made for those vehicles that are to be used by the Signal Corps, and if this proviso is not put in here, of course the Signal Corps out of this or any other appropriation can not have these motor-propelled vehicles. And in the discussion of this question the other day, and in the decision made by the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole at that time, that decision was not based upon the fact that that bill contained the number of vehicles but upon the broad principle that in the bill then under discussion it was necessary to give the specific privilege to purchase motor-propelled and horse-drawn vehicles for passenger purposes. I can not think that the Chair could hold that in every instance the number of vehicles should be given in the bill. If we had to give the number of vehicles or if that law was applied to some other item, say blankets and saddles, and we

had to give the number of blankets and the number of saddles, and so on, that we provide for in this bill, the bill would be voluminous and never ending.

The CHAIRMAN. Can the Chair ask the gentleman from Virginia a question?

Mr. HAY. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair understands, then, that the contention of the gentleman from Virginia is that where an executive department or any branch of the Government is authorized out of a lump sum to purchase motor-propelled vehicles this statute in question precludes them from doing it unless the number is specifically provided—

Mr. HAY. I do not contend that. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FOSTER] contends that. He contends that the number of vehicles to be purchased under this appropriation must be given in the bill. Now, I contend that that is not at all what the intention or the meaning of the law in the last legislative bill is; that it only provides that specific authority must be given by Congress when any motor-propelled or horse-drawn passenger vehicle is to be purchased under the appropriation. That is all that is necessary, and that was the decision of the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union who presided over the committee when the Indian appropriation bill was under consideration.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, when the matter was up in the committee before on the Indian appropriation bill the discussion of the point of order was participated in by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HAY] and the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER], both chairmen of great appropriation committees, because it was understood that the principle involved applied to all of these bills. And the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS], if I remember correctly, was in the chair, and he is a very competent chairman. After the discussion he ruled that it was competent for Congress, over the point of order, to provide generally by this specific language for the purchase of these vehicles.

Mr. FOSTER. If my colleague will permit, I think in the Indian appropriation bill there was a specific appropriation for 20 automobiles. There were 30 estimated for.

Mr. MANN. There was no specific appropriation of the amount for maintenance.

Mr. FOSTER. Possibly not; but it was for the purchase of the machines.

Mr. MANN. That provision in the Indian appropriation bill, as I recall it, authorized the use of \$200,000 out of all the appropriations contained in the bill, with the limitation in the bill that not more should be used for the purchase.

Mr. FOSTER. I think it provided there would be 20 purchased.

Mr. MANN. No; there was a limitation that not more than 20 should be purchased.

Mr. FOSTER. An allowance for that purpose. The difference in the two provisions is that this provides for the purchase of machines, as the appropriation further on does, which is a little different from this in the wording. But here is the proposition. Now, under provisions of law which were inserted in the appropriation bills for the purchase and maintenance of these vehicles it went along, and they purchased many of them for years. Congress apparently did not know much about it or how many were purchased, so they finally secured the information, either in this body or the other, that there were so many machines owned by the Government. So Congress in last year's bill placed this provision in the law that Congress should know how many were proposed to be purchased under these appropriations.

Mr. MANN. Congress obtains that information now by specific reports in the estimates and otherwise.

Mr. FOSTER. I understand that; but the estimates are not in the bill. But the fact is that the bill does not comply with the law in that it does not provide for the purchase of so many, and under these provisions that are in the bill they can go ahead and purchase to the full amount of the appropriation if they so desire.

Mr. MANN. Now, if my recollection is correct, there was no specific authority in the Indian appropriation bill for the purchase of so many, but there was a limitation that they should not purchase more than so many. This amendment would not be added to, so far as the point of order is concerned, by adding at the end of it that not more than 1,000 of these vehicles should be purchased. It is a limitation that would not have any effect. The question is whether the appropriation is in order, and that was the precise question that was before the House when the Indian appropriation bill was under consideration.



The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is ready to rule. The Chair has read section 5 of the legislative appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1915, and is of the opinion that that section is a limitation upon the heads of the executive departments, but is not a limitation upon Congress. The Chair is of the opinion that it is very desirable to have uniformity of decisions in this House, and the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYANS], Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union during the consideration of the Indian appropriation bill, passed on this very question, and he held—and, in the opinion of this Chair, he held correctly—that Congress had the right, if it saw fit, to pass a provision of this character, and the Chair overrules the point of order. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. BATHRICK. Mr. Chairman, I believe the law specifically declared that the estimate on the purchase of these machines should be specific, and I believe that the intent of the law was that a certain practice which has grown up in some of our departments, of expending public money for the purpose of having joy-ride facilities, should cease. While the Chair has ruled that this amendment is in order, I believe this House ought to vote this proposition down for another reason, namely, that it is coupled up with the amount intended to be used for the purchase of airships for the use of the Army. Now, as I read it and as I understand it—and I would be glad to be corrected by the chairman of the committee if I am mistaken—it puts it within the power of the department, if it expends this sum of money, to expend for automobiles all of that portion of the money in its possession intended for airships.

Mr. HAY. The gentleman is entirely mistaken.

Mr. BATHRICK. I would like to have the gentleman's explanation of why I am mistaken.

Mr. HAY. For the reason that the law provides that the estimates shall be made as to how many of these passenger-carrying vehicles shall be bought and how much of this \$300,000 they are going to spend for them, and they can not expend more than they estimate for that purpose. I will say to the gentleman that these people now have about two of these machines. That is all.

Mr. BATHRICK. Have they estimated for these two?

Mr. HAY. They have. If this amendment is not adopted, they can not repair them, and they will rot and go to nothing. If it is going to be the policy of the committee to prevent the repair and operation of machines or the purchase of one or two more that may be purchased, why, then—

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the gentleman from Virginia a question?

Mr. HAY. Yes.

Mr. MANN. Without authority being given to employ passenger vehicles, if a man goes out in a flying machine and the machine breaks down, how would you carry him in? Would you have to carry him in on the back of some one?

Mr. HAY. He could not be hauled in unless by means of a wagon or some other vehicle.

Mr. MANN. You could not hire it out of this fund, but some one would have to carry him in on his back.

Mr. HAY. Yes.

Mr. BATHRICK. The gentleman knows that no reasonable man in this House wants to provide against such a thing as that.

Mr. MANN. That is the reason why I mentioned the contingency that might happen.

Mr. BATHRICK. Could they not spend any or all of this money for the purchase of motor vehicles?

Mr. HAY. They could, but it is not to be thought that the officers in charge of the expenditure of this money are going to spend \$50,000 or \$100,000 or \$200,000 for buying automobiles to ride around in.

Mr. MANN. Next year they must make a report as to how much they have expended for this purpose?

Mr. HAY. Certainly.

Mr. BATHRICK. It is not my intention to interfere with the operations of the corps in this respect, but it is apparent that it should not be in their power to buy out of this fund as many automobiles as they please.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAY. Certainly.

Mr. CALLAWAY. What passengers do these automobiles haul? And I want to ask this further question right in that same connection: Is it not a fact that we make provision for ambulance facilities connected with our Army stations, wherever they are? That would get these parties who are injured in aeroplanes, and so on, would it not?

Mr. HAY. No. At San Diego, where the school of aviation is located, there is no Army hospital that I know of. They may

have a field hospital there, but I do not think they have. The use they would have for these automobiles—one or two is all they would have—would be to go about from place to place in the discharge of their duties, and they can be used only for official purposes. They can not be used for a man's personal convenience or pleasure.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Or for his family?

Mr. HAY. It ought not to be. If it is done, it is against the regulations of the War Department and the law.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Would going and getting a man who fell from an aeroplane, or anything like that, be considered passenger traffic?

Mr. HAY. Yes, sir. That is the only way by which they would have any passenger vehicle at all. It would be under this appropriation, under this proviso.

Mr. CALLAWAY. It has been my understanding that we have ambulance provision for things like that.

Mr. HAY. We have ambulances connected with the hospital, but I will say to the gentleman that those people have a school at San Diego, Cal., known as the School of Aviation, and there is no hospital connected with the school that I know of.

Mr. CALLAWAY. This is simply an ambulance provision?

Mr. HAY. Well, no. That was merely an illustration given by the gentleman from Illinois to show what might happen in the event we did not have these machines. Mr. Chairman, I call for a vote.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Virginia.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Strike out the proviso, beginning in line 1, page 7, and insert the same proviso after the word "section" in the foregoing amendment.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I do that because this \$500 provided for special technical instruction of officers of this aviation section ought to be paid out of the \$300,000 and not out of the general fund for the Signal Service.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, where was that to go in?

Mr. HAY. To strike out the proviso, beginning on line 1, page 7, and inserting it after the word "section" in the amendment which we have just adopted.

Mr. MANN. After the word "section" in the amendment?

Mr. HAY. Yes.

Mr. MANN. I suggest to the gentleman that both after the word "Provided" there and after the word "Provided" now in the section it should be made to read "Provided further."

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendment will be modified by inserting the words "Provided further."

There was no objection.

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will now recognize the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] to offer an amendment.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, I offer the amendment which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. GARDNER:

"Page 6, line 24, strike out '\$600,000' and insert '\$1,300,000.'"

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, if that amendment is adopted, it will appropriate for the aviation service \$1,000,000, because, if it is adopted, I shall move to strike out the figures "\$300,000" where they occur in line 4, on page 7, and insert in lieu thereof the figures "\$1,000,000." I do not think myself that that is nearly enough for the aviation service. I think that amount is far too small, but the fact is that that is all the Committee on Naval Affairs have appropriated for the aviation service of the Navy. If I am correctly informed, it is all that Gen. Scriven asked when he sent his estimates to the Secretary of War. Now, it is true that when the Secretary of War submitted Gen. Scriven's estimate he cut it down to \$400,000. That was the amount estimated by the Secretary of War, and the committee cut that amount still further down, to \$300,000. I do not know that Gen. Scriven sent in an estimate of \$1,000,000 to the Secretary of War, but I am told so, and I can well believe that it is so.

The fact is that we are hopelessly behind every other nation on earth in the matter of aeroplanes. Even little Serbia has three times the aeroplane fleet that we have. Yet in the United States is where the business of flying started, and we ought to be away in the lead. What has happened? We have been experimenting and reporting and drafting designs, and doing everything except build aeroplanes. What did we do last year?

Mr. GORDON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.



Mr. GORDON. Mr. Chairman, does not the gentleman know that the building of aeroplanes is wholly in the experimental stage?

Mr. GARDNER. Will the gentleman please wait until I get through, and not ask foolish questions? [Laughter.] Mr. Chairman, the fact is that we have been experimenting and doing everything except build aeroplanes, whereas the rest of the world has gone right straight ahead, and in France they had 1,400 aeroplanes on the 1st of last July. They had 22 dirigible balloons, like Zeppelins. In Russia they had 800 aeroplanes on the 1st of last July, and 18 dirigibles. In the United States we have only 23 aeroplanes and not a single dirigible or Zeppelin to bless ourselves with—not one single one; we, the great progressive country of the world!

Mr. Chairman, it is not as if the rest of the world did not know how to build aeroplanes.

Now, what did we do? We had a board appointed by the Secretary of the Navy two years ago. That board made a very elaborate report and recommended a large sum of money, and that is as far as it got. We sent over to Germany and we bought one aeroplane as a sample, as a model on which to build. That was an aeroplane with two Mercedes motors. Then we sent to France and ordered an aeroplane with two Salmson motors, and on those two machines we were going to found a little family of aeroplanes, but the war broke out and those aeroplanes were commandeered by foreign nations, and we are back again in the same old spot, experimenting, reporting, considering, and appropriating for pencils and paper to make plans. That is what we have been doing on aeroplanes, and as for the Zeppelins, we have been doing nothing at all. Now, every time anybody has tried to make a move, he has been suppressed by the department. The General Board of the Navy estimated \$5,000,000 this year for the air service. What happened? Why, the Secretary of the Navy did not recommend a cent, but proposed to allow them to take something out of the general fund. After all, the committee have done better than that. The Committee on Naval Affairs have had their minds opened to a certain extent and have appropriated \$1,000,000 for air service in general.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. GARDNER. I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GARDNER. I thank the Chair for extending my time. I should rather have five minutes than two.

Mr. McKENZIE. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes; I yield for a question.

Mr. McKENZIE. What effect upon our safety does the manufacture and owning of these aeroplanes by foreign Governments have upon us?

Mr. GARDNER. None whatever.

Mr. McKENZIE. Do you think there is any danger?

Mr. GARDNER. It is simply an illustration of what we ought to have.

Mr. KAHN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. Where did the gentleman get his figures as to the number of aeroplanes owned by foreign Governments?

Mr. GARDNER. I got that from Capt. Bristol's evidence before the Naval Committee. The evidence from the Clash of Nations is not very good.

Mr. KAHN. Gen. Scriven gave a very much smaller estimate before the committee.

Mr. GARDNER. He gave 500 aeroplanes for France and 11 dirigibles for France. His figures came from the Clash of Nations.

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

Mr. GARDNER. Capt. Bristol, before the Navy Department, gave 1,400 aeroplanes for France and 22 dirigibles. But, take your own figures, call the number 500 aeroplanes and 11 dirigibles, and you will see how far behind we are. This war has developed since the Clash of Nations was written, and everybody familiar with the facts knows that the number of air craft was vastly underestimated. Capt. Bristol gave his evidence very recently before the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Now, Mr. Chairman, what happened? Gen. Scriven has been kept down, if you please, to a flying force of 60 officers, with only 12 enlisted men. That is all we allow him, and he has to cut his coat to suit his cloth. Therefore, says he, "We will get a small fleet, because they will not give us the men to man a large fleet," and he comes in to the Secretary of War, as I have been informed—and I challenge contradiction—and says, "My

estimate is \$1,000,000 for that fleet," and the amendment I offer is to give that \$1,000,000, which Gen. Scriven, in my opinion, originally asked the Secretary to approve. The Secretary of War, or some of his subordinates, cut the estimate down to \$400,000. The chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs cuts it down still further and makes it \$300,000.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Massachusetts would provide a million dollars for the purchase, repair, and upkeep of aeroplanes. As I stated, the number of aeroplanes on hand now is 11, contracted for 8, and they want 32 machines.

This appropriation was made by the committee in accordance with the evidence of the Chief of the Signal Corps. Gen. Scriven says:

We only want to accumulate 32 machines in the first line and a reserve of 50 per cent, because we have under the bill 60 aviator officers, and we are only allowed 12 enlisted men for instruction in flying.

He ought to have said only allowed 12 annually. They could instruct 12 enlisted men one year and 12 the next year. Gen. Scriven continues:

The limit is therefore 72. If we organize 4 squadrons of 8 machines each, that is 32 machines—each squadron is supposed to have 20 pilots and observers—4 squadrons would require 80 men, observers and pilots. That would constitute the necessary complement of men. Now we are allowed 60 officers. We will probably get these officers, because they are coming in very fast and they appear to appreciate the work. We should then require 20 enlisted men to make up the full complement of 80 men.

These 12 enlisted men they can get next year.

If these can not be obtained, it will be necessary to cut off some of the 4 officers comprising the commander and staff of each squadron, or an observer need not be sent out with every machine. At all events it will be possible to put 4 squadrons in the field fairly well manned and equipped.

But to the 4 squadrons of 32 machines should be added a reserve of 50 per cent of spare parts because the machines require this for spare parts all the time. That would add 16 more machines to be purchased, as the spare parts should constitute an entire semblance not put together, so that in case of immediate necessity the spare parts could be assembled and replace broken machines in the field at once.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the \$400,000 you are asking for, how much do you expect to spend for this purpose?

Gen. SCRIVEN. I think I can give that exactly. We have 21 machines now and \$40,000 left. The running expenses from now until July will be, I should say, about \$25,000, which will give us \$15,000 free and two more machines, which will make 23 machines. To make up the 32 machines we will have 9 machines to buy and to make up the reserve for the 32 machines, 50 per cent, 16, making it necessary to buy in all 25 new machines during the coming year to put the aviation squadrons into fairly good shape.

Now, Mr. Chairman, these machines cost, according to the evidence, \$10,000 apiece. They want to buy 25 machines for the next fiscal year, and we are giving them \$300,000. Out of that they can buy 25 machines for \$10,000 apiece and have \$50,000 for the purposes of repair and upkeep, so that we are giving them what they ask for and no more. In my judgment it is no reason because the French Government has 1,400 or 14,000 aeroplanes that we should undertake to have the same number. We have no use for them at this time. We will never have, in my judgment, any use for any such large number of machines. We are undertaking to supply what the department says we ought to have, and that is what we have done.

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAY. Yes.

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Is the department or the Government constructing these machines or are they depending upon purchasing them by contract?

Mr. HAY. They purchase them by contract. The Government has no plant where they can be manufactured.

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. My opinion is that it is difficult to purchase machines in this country, and it seems to me that the Government ought to undertake the construction of them for the Government itself.

Mr. HAY. That is a question that does not enter into this proposition. There may be something in that, but, as a matter of fact, the Government at this time has no place where they can manufacture these machines. They are therefore compelled to buy them.

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. The construction and development of aeroplanes is something that I am much interested in, and I am also interested in their being developed and constructed by the Navy and the War Departments. The aeroplane, in my opinion, is only in its infancy; it is not wholly developed. It is a strange coincidence both in the construction of aeroplanes and of submarines, that we are going very slowly as to both. It seems that we can not get them manufactured or constructed, and the department is compelled to turn back a part of their appropriation.



One of the reasons I am especially interested in this is because I believe that when the submarines are developed they will in a short period of time make the battleship inoperative. It is going to stop the armor graft that has been going on in this country for a number of years, and we are now building battleships that, in my judgment, can never be of any use to the Government.

So it seems strange that we are so backward in developing the weapons of destruction to the battleships. We are paying and have been paying for years \$250 a ton profit to the armor-plate ring, and we can not get submarines and aeroplanes manufactured. It is strange again that our Government officials when they have not been successful in securing the manufacture of these weapons by contract does not establish a plant where they can be manufactured by the Government itself. It seems to me there is a lack of interest and progress along that line. While I am in favor of going as far as possible in the development of air craft and submarines, as far as there is any reason for going, if the department refuses to spend the money appropriated for that purpose it seems that Congress should take some action forcing them to do it.

Mr. McKENZIE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. I will.

Mr. McKENZIE. Did the gentleman read the hearings before the Committee on Military Affairs?

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. No; I have not.

Mr. McKENZIE. In these hearings Col. Reber testified that we are keeping abreast of the progress that is being made everywhere.

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. I do not agree with the gentleman who made that statement. I think we are far behind other nations in the development of air craft.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Yes.

Mr. CALLAWAY. In what way are we behind them? In the number or in the efficiency of the ones that we have?

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. In both. I think we should have more of them. I think we should develop new methods and new equipment, safety appliances, and so forth, if they can be developed. I am a believer in air craft. I think we are going to travel through the air in a short period of time as safely as we travel on the water now.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Does the gentleman think we ought to have as many airships for war as we would if we were actually engaged in war?

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. I think the air craft and the submarine are going to tend to stop this war craze, and that is one of the reasons I want them. I think they are going to stop the agitation for useless and unnecessary expenditures on battleships and armor plate, and when we come to the right conclusion on those things it will probably do away with some of the influence that is behind the forces that work to build large battleships, which will be of no service to the country.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to get some agreement on closing debate on this paragraph. How much time does the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER] desire?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. About two minutes.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I desire three minutes.

Mr. SLAYDEN. I would like to have five minutes.

Mr. MANN. I think we would like to have 15 minutes on this side.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this paragraph and pending amendments thereto close in 35 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia asks unanimous consent that all debate on this paragraph and all amendments thereto shall close in 35 minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, this subject is too important really to have the debate upon it limited, but I believe the House would rather listen to a short statement than to a long one. Security and information are the life of an army. The sentinel, the outpost, and the cavalry in old times told you what your enemy was doing. They told you where his forces were small, so that you could attack, and where his forces were large and moving in your direction, so that you could prepare yourself for defense. That work has very largely gone now to the cavalry of the air. Any limitation on the training of air men and the purchase of these air machines I would regard as foolish, but that it should be limited to \$300,000 seems to me to be fatal. The aeroplanes originated in this country, but we have not encouraged the manufacture of them by capital from the Government, as has been done abroad,

and as a result military aeroplanes abroad travel at a speed, I believe, of a hundred miles an hour, while ours, as a rule, travel at a speed of about 40 miles an hour. The largest aeroplanes abroad carry 5, 7, and 10 passengers, and ours carry but 2. We must take advantage of what has been done abroad by every means in our power in order to keep abreast of the world. So far as doing it in time of peace is concerned, we maintain cavalry and artillery in time of peace because they can not be trained quickly. Much more should we maintain the aviation division of our Army in time of peace and enlarge it to the full, because it can not be created hurriedly if it should be needed.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I do not believe that the amount appropriated in this bill for aviation purposes is sufficient if we were to engage in actual war on that basis, and I would be in favor of the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] if I did not think it would be possible for us to manufacture such aeroplanes as were necessary before it would be possible for a foreign foe to land upon our shores. I do not entirely agree with the gentleman from Massachusetts, or I might say I do not agree with him at all, in his characterization of the question propounded to him by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BATHRICK]. The construction of aeroplanes or dirigible balloons is still in an experimental stage.

Mr. BATHRICK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Yes.

Mr. BATHRICK. On the question of experimentation, is it not absolutely true that the automobile is still in a condition of experimentation?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. The automobile has to a certain extent been standardized.

Mr. BATHRICK. In years to come the air craft will still be in a condition of experimentation.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. For a long time, I think; very likely.

Mr. BATHRICK. And we must keep up and progress. Because it is in an era of experimentation is no reason why we should not begin.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. We are making a beginning now. The bill provides for that. Only a few days ago patents were issued for a stabilizer for which much was claimed in the navigation of air craft. Certainly something of that kind will be eventually done, and unless it is obtained air craft will never be successful. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] speaks of Zeppelins, and, with a slip of the tongue, I think, spoke of France having Zeppelins. I do not think they have any Zeppelins.

Mr. GARDNER. Yes; they have Speiss dirigibles of the Zeppelin type, as well as Parsafals.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. They have dirigibles, but not of the rigid type known as Zeppelins. So far, the Zeppelins have had no effect upon the war.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired.

Mr. GARD. Mr. Chairman, very recently, and at the time of the dedication of the new Federal building in Dayton, Ohio, the First Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Byron R. Newton, told a very interesting story of how he, while acting as a newspaper correspondent, had been delegated to go to the city of Dayton, Ohio, to make a most rigid investigation of the claims of the Wright brothers of that city who had just given to the world the wonderful news that they had created a machine heavier than air which would enable man to make flights and direct his course in the air as he willed.

The skeptical and scoffing attitude of the general public was in the mind of Mr. Newton when he met the Wright brothers, and he gave to their invention the most particular scrutiny, striving to see wherein it might possibly fail; but he remained, only to be entirely convinced that the dream of these two hard-working mechanics who had striven to their goal of achievement despite lack of advantage, appreciation, or even understanding, had actually been worked out into the practical reality we all now know it to be.

A model of an early Wright machine is in the Smithsonian Institution, that exhibition place of the wonders of American creative genius, and nothing in all its halls is more wonderful than this; and, Mr. Chairman, I am proud to believe that when man has made mastery of the air the names of the Wright brothers, of Dayton, Ohio, will be given their full recognition as the pioneers of this most marvelous invention. [Applause.]

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I have always been an advocate of preparedness for our Military and Naval Establishments, but I do not think that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] is at all necessary at this time. Gen. Scriven, Chief of the Signal Corps, appeared



before the Committee on Military Affairs and told the committee that 32 aeroplanes for an army of the size we have in this country, in his judgment, was ample; it was the purpose of the committee to furnish him with enough money to secure those 32 machines as a first line. Gen. Scriven stated to the committee, and I read from pages 642 and 643 of the hearings:

Gen. SCRIVEN. I have been thinking it over, Mr. Chairman, and I am in hopes that we may be able to squeeze out two or three more machines, making a total, with the 21 on hand, of 23 or 24 machines.

He meant by that that he hoped to be able to squeeze two or three more machines out of the money still in his hands for the current fiscal year, so that would give him 24 machines.

If we can create four aero squadrons, like the one represented in that picture, of 8 machines each, that will give us 32 machines, and with that number we are quite well provided for an army of our size—32 machines in first line in commission. Then we should add 50 per cent of spare parts, or what really amounts to other machines, in the warehouses ready to put together, so that we will then have 50 machines, and then we shall be as well off in this respect as we need to be.

Now, that states the case from the standpoint of the officer in command of that particular branch of the military service.

After all, we are not in the condition that the European countries are in. They have their long lines bordering upon neighboring States, and it is necessary for them to have a much larger number of aeroplanes than we have. We would require them almost entirely in case some foreign foe should attempt to seek a landing in this country and should positively make a landing on our shores. Outside of that, I doubt whether we will have much use for aeroplanes. They certainly will not be required in the interior of the country to any great extent. They certainly will not be required in those sections of the country where there is no enemy, even if we were involved in war. In view of the fact, too, that great improvements are being made in these machines, it is well for us to expend simply those amounts that the Army officials themselves feel will keep us abreast of the times and furnish the number of machines that would be required for an army of the size of ours.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. KAHN. I will.

Mr. SLAYDEN. I would like to ask the gentleman how long it would take to construct an aeroplane when we needed it?

Mr. KAHN. It is a matter of slow operation.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Why, are not the engines—

Mr. KAHN. I asked Gen. Scriven, when he was before our committee, how long it would take him to secure 100 machines for the use of our Army, and he stated that the factories are small at the present time and in his judgment it would require a full year to secure that number of machines.

Mr. SLAYDEN. That was to get the factories running and not the machines, was it not?

Mr. KAHN. Well, we took his word for these facts, but I am confident that if we were to endeavor to purchase a larger number of machines each one of the three factories that is now supplying machines would immediately extend its plant and would furnish the machines in double-quick order.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Are they building their own engines?

Mr. KAHN. I believe so.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, in order that things may be perfectly understood here let me say there is an aeroplane factory in my district, but there is not an ammunition factory nor an artillery factory nor an armor-plate factory nor any other kind of factory which makes munitions of war, yet I am going to try to get the appropriation raised on various other articles which are needed when a nation is at war.

Now, to answer what the gentleman from California and the gentleman from Virginia have said. If there is anything in the argument that we do not need these aeroplanes because we are not going to have any war, then for heaven's sake let us save money on our coast defenses. They are the most expensive things we have. We do not want them if there is to be no war. We do not need them in the great West any more than we need military air craft in the great West. If we do not need ammunition and artillery and airships because the plea for them rests on an assumption or a dream that there is going to be a war, why not apply the same argument to our coast fortifications and cut off that enormous bill of expense. Now, remember what the situation actually is; do not confuse yourselves with these hearings partially read. Here is the real situation. Gen. Scriven wanted a million dollars and he asked for \$400,000 under instructions. Now, if anyone doubts these estimates are made under instruction I call their attention to Gen. Crozier's evidence. When he was asked about a certain cut which he had made in an appropriation for field artillery he said:

That does seem a queer cut, but there is some explanation for it; and here I must say that in cutting it at all I am acting under instructions.

Finally, the department asked for \$400,000 for air craft, and you have only given them \$300,000. Now, you talk as if there would be 32 aeroplanes in the first line and 16 in reserve when this proposed appropriation has been expended. Nothing of the sort will happen. Of these 32 aeroplanes, 6 are of mighty little account, and by the 1st of July, 1916, there will be a great many more of them crippled. Not one of them is armored, and not more than two of them are of the same type. That is our aeroplane fleet as it stands to-day. Now, what is this reserve of 16 aeroplanes which the chairman has told us about? Nothing in the world but spare parts sufficient to make up 16 aeroplanes when they are put together. Here is the passage from Gen. Scriven's evidence which explains the situation:

But to the four squadrons of 32 machines should be added a reserve of 50 per cent of spare parts, because the machines require this for spare parts all the time. That would add 16 more machines to be purchased, as the spare parts should constitute an entire semblance not put together, so that in case of immediate necessity the spare parts could be assembled and replace broken machines in the field at once.

If you are going to calculate these spare parts as 16 machines in reserve, then where are your spare parts to come from for the repair of the 32 machines of the first line?

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee). The gentleman from Texas [Mr. SLAYDEN] is recognized.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, from information which I have obtained from reading, I find that it does not cost anything like it is stated here to get these air planes, as I prefer to call them. I read an article yesterday in an English magazine, by an English staff officer, which stated that the Zeppelins cost about £100,000, the biggest and best, and their air planes that we have in this country, with small engines and which have rigid planes, can not cost anything like what is estimated; and if this Government goes into the construction of them, expensive as Government work usually is, I think they will cost very much less.

Mr. Chairman, I want to speak for a moment about a matter much less important than the cost of these machines. I want to ask the chairman of the committee what is the difference in the meaning between the word "matériel," the word employed in the bill, and our English word "material." Do they mean the same thing, or is there some significance in the employment of the French word?

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I do not think that is a parliamentary inquiry. [Laughter.]

Mr. SLAYDEN. Well, I admit I do not know the difference.

Mr. MANN. I would like to refer the gentleman to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY], who made quite an elaborate explanation of that last year when the fortification bill was under consideration.

Mr. SLAYDEN. I did not hear that. I think the lexicographers do not make any distinction. I encountered the same difficulty as some of my friends do in the word "aeroplane," which means, according to the dictionary, a rigid plane in air navigating machines. And there is the word "hangar," which means a shed. I think in the construction of this bill we ought to use the English language. This is not an important criticism, but the word "hangar," as every dictionary will tell you, does mean "shed." Then why not employ the word "shed"; and as to "aeroplane," which none of us can say easily, no matter how sober we are, and which means precisely the same thing as air plane, why not accommodate those of us who are less informed in these foreign tongues and use the English language? I am going to move to strike out the word "hangar" and substitute the word "shed" whenever I find it in this bill. [Applause.]

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I doubt whether the gentleman will find the word "hangar" in the bill anywhere.

Mr. SLAYDEN. It has been in there heretofore.

Mr. MANN. I think not.

Mr. Chairman, several years ago I offered on the floor of this House the first amendment for the purchase of air flying machines. At that time the proposition very likely was subject to a point of order in some shape, but I received the support of the gentleman from Virginia, now the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, and Gov. Hull, of Iowa, who was then the chairman of the committee, and we managed to get into the bill a provision for air planes. I had become interested in the matter. From early youth I have dreamed of flying. When I dream, I fly. I served on the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution at the time the Wrights were making their experiments. A few years ago, and I think since the gentleman from Virginia became chairman of the committee, if I recall correctly, I offered an amendment to increase the amount. In both cases, as I recollect, the War Department had not made an estimate. The first time they had not made an estimate at



all, and the second time, I think, they had not made an estimate for the amount that the bill carried. We commenced the work of supplying airships, as we now call them. Last year or the year before we provided for the Aviation Corps, through the efforts of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HAY], and that is doing good work. I understand we have an aviation school out in California now which is doing good work. I believe that we ought to make reasonable progress along the lines of aviation, and at the same time give some encouragement to the private manufacturers and the men who privately operate flying machines.

If we have a war, we will call upon every man who has a flying machine or who can fly a machine to enter the Government service in some way, and probably get some of our best men and best machines in that way. I doubt very much whether it is desirable at this time to increase the amount to a million dollars. My friend from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] said we ought to be prepared and thoroughly prepared for war at any time. Well, I do not know that this is a fair illustration; but any of us individually may at any time be attacked on the street by somebody who is angry at us, or by a lunatic, and yet I dare say that no one is now in training to prepare himself for a prize fight. We may have to meet the fight, but we take that chance. No one would deliberately go into a fight without training if he had the opportunity to train, but we are not training for that, although for years I used to train some in the expectation that it might come.

Mr. GARDNER. Will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. MANN. Certainly.

Mr. GARDNER. Are not our neighbors all having prize fights around us?

Mr. MANN. We are having many prize fights all the time throughout the country, and there is a fight in this town every day, and probably a good many of them. Men are arrested every day for fighting, and yet no one expects that it is necessary to spend all his time or his money preparing himself to meet a possible but improbable attack.

Now, when we make a reasonable provision for war, that is all we ought to be expected to do. It would be foolish, it seems to me, for any country to expend all of its resources in preparing for war and neglect other things which are much more important. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER].

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

For additional pay for length of service, \$2,300,000.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order on that.

Mr. GARDNER. The gentleman is clearly right, but will he withhold the point of order?

Mr. HAY. I reserve the point of order.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The amendment has not been reported in full.

Mr. GARDNER. It is clearly out of order, and it is a long amendment, but I would like to have it printed.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] asks unanimous consent that the reading of the proposed amendment be dispensed with, and that it be printed in full in the RECORD, and that he be permitted to proceed for five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Following is the amendment referred to:

Page 8, line 6, after the figures "\$2,300,000," insert "Provided, That the following changes, to take effect on July 1, 1915, are made in the laws concerning the Army of the United States, to wit:

"SECTION 1. That the provisions contained in section 36 of the act of Congress approved February 2, 1901, limiting the total enlisted force of the line of the Army to 100,000 are hereby repealed, and the President is authorized to maintain all organizations of the Army at their prescribed statutory maximum strength at all times.

"SEC. 2. That the number of officers of the line of the Army is hereby increased by the addition of 24 colonels, 46 lieutenant colonels, 109 majors, 496 captains, 293 first lieutenants, and 32 second lieutenants, and the said officers of the respective grades mentioned shall be apportioned among the Corps of Engineers, Cavalry, Field Artillery, Coast Artillery Corps, and Infantry as nearly as may be according to the authorized commissioned strength of existing tactical organizations in said branches of the Army: *Provided*, That, for the purpose of this apportionment, 4 companies of Engineer or Coast Artillery troops shall be considered a battalion, with the quota of field and staff officers authorized for a battalion of Infantry, and 12 companies a regiment, with the quota of field and staff officers authorized for a regiment of Infantry.

"SEC. 3. That vacancies in the grade of field officer, captain, and first lieutenant created by this act in the Corps of Engineers, Cavalry, Field Artillery, Coast Artillery Corps, and Infantry shall be filled by promotion according to seniority in each branch, respectively. Vacancies in the grade of second lieutenant occasioned by promotions shall be filled by appointments in the following order: First, of members of the next graduating class at the United States Military Academy; second, of enlisted men whose fitness for advancement has been determined by competitive examination; third, of honor graduates of institutions of learning which have been designated by the War Department as 'distinguished institutions'; fourth, of graduates of institutions of learning having an Army officer detailed thereat as professor of military science and tactics; fifth, of candidates from civil life. All appointments shall be made in accordance with the provisions of existing law not inconsistent with this act.

"SEC. 4. That the number of officers authorized for the Coast Artillery Corps of the Army shall be increased by the addition of 12 colonels, 12 lieutenants colonel, 40 majors, 174 captains, 187 first lieutenants, and 187 second lieutenants.

"SEC. 5. That all vacancies created or caused by this act which can be filled by promotion of officers now in the Coast Artillery Corps shall be filled by promotion according to seniority, subject to examination as now prescribed by law: *Provided*, That one-fifth of the vacancies in each grade shall be filled in each fiscal year until the total number of vacancies in each grade is filled. Of the vacancies created or caused by this act which can not be filled by promotion of officers now in the Coast Artillery Corps, one-fifth shall be filled in each fiscal year until the total number of officers herein provided for shall have been attained. The vacancies remaining in the grade of second lieutenant shall be filled by appointment in the following order: First, of graduates of the United States Military Academy; second, of enlisted men whose fitness for advancement shall have been determined by competitive examination; third, of honor graduates of institutions of learning which have been designated by the War Department as 'distinguished institutions'; fourth, of graduates of institutions of learning having an Army officer detailed thereat as professor of military science and tactics; fifth, of candidates from civil life; and all such appointments shall be made in accordance with the provisions of existing law not in conflict with the provisions of this act.

"SEC. 6. That the authorized enlisted strength of the Coast Artillery Corps of the Army shall be increased by the addition of 10 sergeants major, senior grade; 16 master electricians; 90 engineers; 66 electrician sergeants, first class; 66 electrician sergeants, second class; 21 sergeants major, junior grade; 154 firemen; 93 radio sergeants with the rank, pay, and allowances of firemen, Coast Artillery Corps; 100 first sergeants; 100 quartermaster sergeants; 800 sergeants; 1,200 corporals; 200 mechanics; 200 cooks; 200 musicians; 7,672 privates; and 4 bands, Coast Artillery Corps, organized as now authorized by law: *Provided*, That the total enlisted strength of the Coast Artillery Corps shall not exceed 30,309, exclusive of the enlisted strength of the bands.

"SEC. 7. That the number of rated men now authorized for the Coast Artillery Corps shall be increased by 24 casemate electricians; 100 observers, first class; 100 plotters; 24 chief planters; 24 chief loaders; 100 observers, second class; 228 gun commanders; and 228 gun pointers: *Provided*, That no enlisted man shall receive under this section more than one addition to his pay."

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Virginia for his courtesy. The amendment was clearly out of order, and he could have stopped the reading of it at any moment he saw fit.

This amendment is a consolidation of two bills prepared in the War Department and introduced in the Senate at the request, so it is said, of the Secretary of War by Senator CHAMBERLAIN, chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. These bills are identical, word for word, with bills which I have introduced in the House. One of them authorizes the increase of the mobile army by about 25,000 men more than are now actually in the Army. The other one increases the Coast Artillery Corps by about 9,000 altogether. The first one the chairman said yesterday he did not approve of. I do not know whether he approves of the second one or not.

The chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of the House says he does not believe in that bill of the Secretary of War increasing the mobile army. Now, the reason for increasing the Coast Defense Corps can be very clearly shown if I read you a few lines from the report of the Chief of the Coast Artillery. He says:

From the foregoing it will be seen that the present authorized strength of the Coast Artillery Corps is short 564 officers and 10,988 enlisted men of the strength required to man our coast defenses under the adopted policy outlined above. In order to provide for our primary home defenses, to wit, the coast defenses of Portland, Boston, Narragansett Bay, Long Island Sound, eastern New York, southern New York, Chesapeake Bay, Pensacola, San Francisco, and Puget Sound there are required 662 officers and 16,251 enlisted men. It will thus be seen that there are now provided about one-fourth of the officers and one-half of the enlisted men necessary for this purpose. Unless provisions be made in the near future for additional Coast Artillery personnel, it will be necessary to reduce the garrisons to mere caretaking detachments at some of the defenses of lesser importance, including Portsmouth, Delaware Bay, Charleston, Savannah, Key West, Tampa, Columbia, Baltimore, Cape Fear, and Mobile.

Now, that is unpreparedness for war with a vengeance, and the only excuse under which you can reduce to mere caretaking detachments the forces in these various fortifications about which I have read you—the only possible excuse—will also apply to every other coast defense on the whole United States coast line, to wit, the excuse that there is never going to be another war.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Virginia make the point of order?

Mr. HAY. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.



Mr. HULINGS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the chairman of the committee a question. I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. HULINGS. Mr. Chairman, I desire to ask the chairman of the committee, in view of the fact that I see the appropriation for longevity pay, roughly speaking, adds about 25 per cent to the pay of the men, whether he does not think that that system results in filling up the ranks with a lot of men who are too old really for the service?

Mr. HAY. Well, I would state to the gentleman from Pennsylvania that this longevity pay does not apply to men who are old in the service. The longevity pay is this, that every man who serves five years in the ranks is entitled to an increase of pay, which is called longevity pay.

Mr. HULINGS. I understand that; but does it not result in this, that a man goes in there and stays and stays, encouraged by the longevity pay, while if he were serving a single enlistment, or perhaps two enlistments, and then went out, you would have a new man to take his place?

Mr. HAY. The gentleman is talking about the enlisted men and not the officers?

Mr. HULINGS. Yes.

Mr. MANN. They are really noncommissioned officers largely.

Mr. HAY. I do not think it results that way. After a man serves 30 years he can retire, and the average age of men going into the Army is about 20 or 21 or 22, so that he does not become very old when he retires.

Mr. HULINGS. I do not say that he becomes superannuated, but that it keeps in the Army the same men during a long term of years, whereas if those men were going out after a four-year enlistment, the body politic would be filling up with men who had been trained to military life, and in case of emergency you would have trained men to call on, while under this system of longevity pay you get only an opportunity to train a comparatively small number of men for the service.

Mr. HAY. I will say to the gentleman that about 15,000 of these men go out every year and about twenty or twenty-five thousand go out of the Organized Militia every year, and some 30,000 young men are educated in the different military schools of the country every year, so that, after all, you have quite a large number of young men trained in the military art.

Mr. HULINGS. I simply want to call the attention of the chairman to that policy. I believe you would accomplish a great deal better work and you would get a very much larger number of men trained to military life if you would stop the longevity pay.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the pro forma amendment will be withdrawn. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

#### SIGNAL CORPS.

Forty-six master signal electricians, at \$75 each per month, \$52,200.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from Virginia.

The Clerk read as follows:

Line 5, page 9, strike out the word "forty" and insert the word "fifty."

Mr. HAY. I will say, Mr. Chairman, that that was a mistake in the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Virginia.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I offer another amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Line 6, page 9, after the word "month," insert the words "four having an increase of 50 per cent."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Virginia.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

One hundred and forty-eight first-class sergeants, at \$45 each per month, \$82,080.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Line 8, page 9, after the word "month," insert the words "eight having an increase of 50 per cent."

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Chairman, I should like to know the reason for this increase?

Mr. HAY. In making up the bill we failed to put in these words. They are necessary to comply with the aviation law,

which provides that so many men shall be employed in the aviation section, which comes under the Signal Corps, and when they are employed in flying and in the Aviation Corps they get an increase of 50 per cent on account of the hazardous character of their employment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Virginia.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

One hundred and sixty-eight sergeants, at \$36 each per month, \$76,896.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Line 10, page 9, after the word "month," insert the words "20 having an increase of 50 per cent."

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Two hundred and thirty-four corporals, at \$24 each per month, \$70,272.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Line 12, page 9, after the word "month," insert the words "20 having an increase of 50 per cent."

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

One superintendent, Nurse Corps, at \$1,800 per annum, \$1,800: *Provided*, That hereafter section 1222, Revised Statutes, shall not apply to officers of the Medical Corps of the Army who shall, with the approval of the President, be detailed or authorized to render professional services to State or other local governments within the United States or any of the possessions thereof.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas and the gentleman from Illinois reserve points of order.

Mr. HAY. I will say to the gentleman from Illinois that this is put in at the request of the Surgeon General of the Army and the president of the American Medical Association.

Mr. MANN. I will ask, first, why is it inserted right in the middle of the provision relating to nurses? Has this proviso concerning medical officers anything to do with the superintendent of nurses or the female nurses?

Mr. HAY. No. Perhaps it was inaptly placed in this paragraph.

Mr. MANN. Putting it in here was an inadvertence?

Mr. HAY. Yes. It had nothing in the world to do with them. It only applies to the officers of the Medical Corps.

Under the law at present officers who accept civil employment or who are detailed for civil purposes, or who take any service of that kind, forfeit their commissions. The physicians of the country are extremely anxious that at times officers of the Medical Corps of the Army shall be allowed to confer with them, and also be detailed to certain sanitary work. As the gentleman knows, the officers of the Army Medical Corps have done great work in sanitary and other branches of the medical profession.

Mr. MANN. They have done that, though, in the Army.

Mr. HAY. Yes; that is true; but the medical profession outside of the Army are anxious that they shall not be hampered; that some provision shall be made by which these men, who are peculiarly fitted to render services of this kind, shall have the opportunity to be detailed, or rather be allowed, to do this work.

Mr. MANN. This applies to officers in the active service, does it not?

Mr. HAY. Oh, yes.

Mr. MANN. There is no prohibition or inhibition against officers on the retired list?

Mr. HAY. Oh, no.

Mr. KAHN. You can not get officers on the retired list.

Mr. MANN. Of course you can get them if you pay them for it. Under this provision it is designed to have Army surgeons ordered to New York, or Detroit, or New Orleans, or Chicago, or some other place, to give service to the municipality or the State?

Mr. HAY. That is what it is for.

Mr. MANN. We have a Public Health Service for that purpose.

Mr. HAY. That is true. I do not think, however, that Army officers would be employed in this way in any large number. It



would only be some man who had made a study of the subject and was peculiarly fitted for some work of that character.

Mr. MANN. Of course this may be intended to cover some particular case.

Mr. HAY. No; it is not so intended.

Mr. MANN. I think the gentleman from Virginia will agree with me that any State or city that thinks it can get a good official of the Government of the United States to come and work for the State or city for nothing will never be very slow about asking for his services.

Mr. HAY. That is true.

Mr. MANN. Would not that be the temptation?

Mr. SLAYDEN. Is not that the real purpose of it?

Mr. HAY. Oh, yes.

Mr. MANN. It is the purpose to permit it?

Mr. HAY. I do not think it is intended to permit officers to be sent around indiscriminately.

Mr. MANN. But the requests would be made indiscriminately.

Mr. HAY. Yes, of course.

Mr. MANN. Then it is a question of how much resisting power there is in the War Department.

Mr. HAY. Yes.

Mr. MANN. I have the greatest respect for the surgeons of the Army; but it seems to me that when we create a Government service for this purpose, like the Public Health Service, we should be going crosswise in providing that some other service should do the work.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, the officers of the medical department have made remarkable progress in the cure and prevention of certain diseases that have caused great disaster to the human family. It was not the Public Health Service, as I now recall, but the Medical Corps of the Army that discovered the mosquito-bite theory with regard to the transmission of yellow fever. It was also the Medical Corps of the Army that discovered the vaccine to prevent typhoid fever. As I understand it, the purpose of this amendment is to allow an officer who is attached to the Medical Corps, and who is familiar with work of that kind, to be detailed by the President for some limited period to some community where a disease is prevalent, in order that the local physicians may learn how to meet the situation. That, as I understand it, is the principal purpose of the amendment.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman is aware that we have a Public Health Service, maintained at very large expense, in part for that very purpose, with skilled and able surgeons connected with it. Why should not they perform the service, instead of starting in to have some other service do it? The gentleman is well enough acquainted with the Public Health Service and the work done in his State to know that it is an efficient and capable service.

Mr. KAHN. Yes; it has done wonderful work; but, as I pointed out, there are certain medical discoveries that have been made in the Army as well as those made by the Public Health Service.

Mr. MANN. Yes; one man finds out something somewhere, some one person makes the discovery, and other people make use of it.

Mr. KAHN. The Army medical officers make use of the discoveries of their colleagues, and should be given every opportunity to extend the knowledge to the profession, and especially to the private practitioners.

Mr. MANN. And the Public Health Service has made as many discoveries in the same period of time as has the Army, and I have no doubt that the Navy physicians have made their share, and the physicians in private life have made their share.

Mr. KAHN. The public-health officers have done a great good in imparting their information to private practitioners. They are probably better able to do that than are the Army officers, because they have many more stations throughout the country. But occasionally, when an Army surgeon does discover some method of treating a contagious disease, he ought to be given the facilities of communicating his discovery to the private practitioner.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

Mr. SLAYDEN. As a matter of fact, when the medical officers in the Army or private practice make any discovery of importance the ethics of the profession require them to give it to the world, and they do it.

Mr. KAHN. That is true.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Does the gentleman know of any reason why the States should not pay for their medical service?

Mr. KAHN. There is no desire by this item to extend the cost to the Government or put upon it any additional expense.

Mr. SLAYDEN. It does do it if it takes the medical officer away from the Army.

Mr. KAHN. He could only be appointed by the President, and if the President felt that it interfered with his work he could withhold the detail. For instance, if there was to be a medical convention in San Antonio and you had some typhoid fever in that vicinity, and an Army officer who was familiar with the methods of treating that disease should be detailed to go down to San Antonio and address the convention and point out the methods to the local practitioners how the disease should be treated, it might be very useful.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I demand the regular order.

Mr. MANN. I make the point of order, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SLAYDEN. And I make the point of order as well.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois and the gentleman from Texas make the point of order, and the Chair sustains it. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Four retired veterinarians, \$7,140.

Mr. McKENZIE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word for the purpose of making an observation. Page 15, line 2, has an item, "four retired veterinarians, \$7,140." I wish to say that one of my principal objections to the increase of the standing Army of the United States is the fact that when we increase the organization for men and officers it becomes necessary to increase all along the line; and we have now a Dental Corps, a Veterinary Corps, and auxiliary bodies, who are made officers and go on the retired list. If we were to increase the Army to 205,000 men, as suggested by some gentleman, we would have an increase in the Dental Corps, an increase in the Nurse Corps, and all the auxiliary bodies until we had an expense that the people of this country would rebel against.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McKENZIE. Certainly.

Mr. MANN. In the item that just precedes the one my colleague refers to is one "for 14 pay clerks retired, \$23,437.50," a rate of nearly \$2,000 a year for clerks.

Mr. McKENZIE. Yes.

Mr. MANN. Nobody knows how soon we will retire the balance of the clerks at this very high rate. The average clerk up here in the department for active service does not begin to get the rate that is given to these clerks for retired pay.

Mr. McKENZIE. I might say further that I realize, as I trust we all do, in case of a war with a foreign country it is the man behind the gun that will have to do the fighting. And if there is any increase at all, I am in favor of increasing the private force of our Army and not the clerks and veterinarians and nurses on the retired list. We passed a bill the other day adding another body of men to the retired list of the country. I simply wanted to call attention to this to make plain why I at this time oppose an increase in the standing Army of the United States.

Mr. DIES. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word for the purpose of making an observation along the line that the gentleman refers to.

In a local paper I find an account of a speech made by one of the Assistant Secretaries of War, Mr. Breckinridge. It says:

A plea for a larger standing army was made by Henry S. Breckinridge, Assistant Secretary of War, in an address last night at the "ladies' night" of the District of Columbia Society of the Sons of the American Revolution at Rauscher's.

"The statement has been made," said Mr. Breckinridge, "that a large standing army does not prevent war. This may all be true, but there is one thing it does prevent—annihilation."

Mr. Chairman, I pity the state of mind of any gentleman inside or outside of this Chamber who believes that a great standing army is essential to prevent the annihilation of the peoples of this Government. If it will be any enlightenment to gentlemen who are obsessed with that sort of fear, I want to call attention to two great battles that have been fought in this country. First, the Battle of New Orleans, and I read now from Messages and Documents by Richardson, in which he says:

Within a week after the Battle of Rodriguez Canal both Jackson and Sir Edward Packenham received reinforcements. Jackson's whole force on the New Orleans side of the river on January 8, 1815, was about 5,000, of which only 2,200 were at the front. Only 800 of the latter were regulars. On the opposite of the river was Gen. Morgan with 800 militia. This force of 5,800, indifferently armed and disciplined, was confronted by 10,000 of the finest soldiers in the world, most of them fresh from the continental campaign under Wellington. The Americans were entrenched behind their fortifications, which the British were compelled to approach across an open plain. In the conflict 2,600 were lost to the British, of whom 700 were killed, 1,400 wounded, and 500 taken prisoners. The Americans lost only 8 killed and 13 wounded. Probably no other battle in history presents this disparity in the numbers lost.



There were the squirrel hunters and the deer hunters engaged in battle with seasoned soldiers of Wellington, who had conquered Napoleon.

In 1836 Gen. Sam Houston mustered some 765 of this same sort of citizens to meet an army of 1,600, commanded by Gen. Santa Anna, who styled himself the Napoleon of the West.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. DIES. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. DIES. In that conflict, one of the decisive battles of the world, that gave independence to Texas and gave to the Union its empire State, the Mexicans lost 630 killed, 208 wounded, and 730 prisoners. The Texans lost 8 killed and 25 wounded. I may say that it was even a more wonderful feat than Gen. Jackson's victory at New Orleans. That was accomplished not by a regular army of trained men, drilled for battle, but by men who had taken up their abode in the primeval forests on the frontiers. They were men who could shoot straight. They were men who had courage in their hearts, and who were patriots and willing to fight to make the people free. I do not say that untrained soldiers are as capable as trained soldiers, but gentlemen should take into consideration, when they speak of the annihilation of this Government, that there are many millions of men in the country who have no chips upon their shoulders, who do not seek the loud acclaim of the glories of war, but who still know how to shoot, and in the event of war would yet perform feats for the liberty and glory of this country equal to that performed at New Orleans or San Jacinto.

Mr. QUIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIES. Yes.

Mr. QUIN. Is it not within the province of reasonable assumption that a great standing army would undermine the liberties of the people and overthrow popular government in this Republic in the course of time?

Mr. DIES. Mr. Chairman, we can not have a great standing army without a great pension roll, as intimated by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN]. Of course we have a modest roll now. It amounts to something like \$200,000,000, a little more than the entire income of the Empire of Japan. What will we have when the martial dreams of our good friend from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] shall have been written into the statutes? If we pay out \$200,000,000 now for pensions and have an Army of only 100,000, what will the pension roll be when we have five hundred thousand or a million in the standing Army of this country?

Mr. Chairman, I would not express my real feelings with regard to this matter. As I said before, my feeling is one of sympathy for that order of intellect and for that feeling of timidity that believes that this great, independent, liberty-loving people are facing annihilation for the want of a standing army. And I speak this as a student of history, if I may modestly make some pretensions to that. All of the nations of this earth combined have it not in their power, with all of their standing armies, to invade this country and annihilate this Republic. [Applause.] If this Republic shall share the fates of other similar Governments that have gone down in other times, it will not be from marching armies from across the seas. It will be from the folly of the people. It will be when they build up a great standing army in this country and make the military power dominant over the civil power. It will be when they cease to reverence the Constitution and the genius of this great Government and begin to imitate the debt-ridden and the soldier-ridden countries of other nations. [Applause.]

Gen. French, I believe, said, in calling for volunteers, that he did not care whether they knew the right foot from the left foot if they could shoot. It has been demonstrated in this war going on in Europe, where they dig themselves into the ground and fight a defensive battle, that they have but little occasion for the maneuver, march, and stately step of trained soldiers, and the man who believes that the men of the North, the men of the South, and the East and the West, the brave young men of this country, will be annihilated by soldiers sent here from abroad, I say, is suffering from a mental distemper, and I am sorry for him, and I would be sorrier still for our country if it gave heed to his intemperate dreams of martial conquest. [Applause.]

The Clerk read as follows:

For commutation of quarters, and of heat and light, to commissioned officers, acting dental surgeons, veterinarians, pay clerks, nurses (female), and enlisted men, \$440,000: *Provided*, That hereafter, at places where there are no public quarters available, commutation for the authorized allowance therefor shall be paid to commissioned officers,

acting dental surgeons, veterinarians, and pay clerks at the rate of \$12 per room per month; and, when specifically authorized by the Secretary of War, to nurses (female) and enlisted men at the rate of \$15 per month, or in lieu thereof he may, in his discretion, rent quarters for the use of said nurses and enlisted men when so on duty.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I desire to ask the chairman of the committee a question.

Mr. HAY. About heat and light? Mr. Chairman, I was very careful in my report on this bill to put in the report a full explanation of these provisos with regard to heat and light. There has been a great deal of controversy on the floor for the last two years with regard to it, and these provisos and this law have been worked out by the Quartermaster General of the Army and the Comptroller of the Treasury, Mr. Downey. If the gentleman will look at my report on pages 3 and 4 he will find a full explanation of this whole question of heat and light, and he will also find that the Quartermaster General states that it will result in considerable reduction of the item heretofore appropriated for the purpose. As a matter of fact, we were able to reduce it this year by \$10,000, and he thinks when it gets into full operation we will be able to reduce it still further.

Mr. CALLAWAY. It just occurred to me that \$12 per month per room—

Mr. HAY. Oh, that is fixed by law. That is the law now. The law now is that each officer, in accordance with rank, shall have rooms at the rate of \$12 per month. A second lieutenant gets two, a first lieutenant three, a captain four, a major five, a lieutenant colonel six, a colonel seven, a brigadier general eight, and a major general nine rooms at \$12 a month each. That is the law now.

Mr. CALLAWAY. What change is there in this from the original law?

Mr. MANN. Allowing rent of quarters.

Mr. CALLAWAY. They could not rent heretofore. What did they do for quarters where there were not any? I regret I have not had time to look at the report and get a detailed statement of this matter.

Mr. HAY. Gen. Aleshire said:

More than a year ago there were some questions as to the rental of buildings for quarters and the payment of heat and light allowances, brought up by the auditor and comptroller.

Mr. CALLAWAY. This does away with the heat and light proposition.

Mr. HAY. Oh, no.

The Secretary of War directed that the matter be fully investigated, and it was put in the hands of an officer of the Inspector General's Department. Investigation was completed, I think, about last June, or shortly afterwards.

As a result of that investigation the Inspector General invited attention to the fact that enlisted men for whom quarters were rented could not receive proper accommodations without an expenditure from their personal funds, and he also invited attention to the fact that the enlisted men of the Marine Corps on similar duty received commutation of fuel at the rate of \$9 a month for clerks and \$8 a month for messengers, and commutation of quarters at the rate of \$21 a month for clerks and \$10 a month for messengers. The practice has been to rent one room, and the price has varied from \$8 to \$12, and sometimes a little higher, but the tendency has been to make the selection of the room in a locality where rents are the lowest rather than in a desirable neighborhood. I do not mean to use the term "desirable neighborhood" in the sense of desiring to be in a fashionable part of a city, but where there are respectable people, people of the class of our noncommissioned officers and enlisted men.

The Secretary of War went over these reports, and so did I, as Quartermaster General, and it was noted that the inspector dwelt upon the hardships and inequalities imposed upon enlisted men by the existing system, and stated that in his opinion satisfactory relief can only be obtained by legislation fixing a flat money commutation for quarters and heat and light for officers and enlisted men whenever the Government does not provide them with public quarters.

He goes on to explain the whole question. I will not take up the time to read it all, but I will say as a result of it it will decrease the appropriation which heretofore has been necessary in order to provide heat, light, and quarters for enlisted men and for commissioned officers. It is very carefully gone into, and it was through the efforts of the auditor, I may say, and I believe that is true, that this investigation was made, and the law contained now in the bill is the result of a consultation between the officers of the War Department and the auditor, Mr. Downey. I am sorry I can not read it all to the gentleman, but I have not the time.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I believe the point of order is reserved.

Mr. HAY. No; the gentleman moved to strike out the last word.

Mr. MANN. I might as well get a little information concerning this and the other paragraphs.

Mr. HAY. All right.

Mr. MANN. As I understand the purpose of this paragraph it is to enable the Secretary of War to provide quarters for



these people when the commutation of quarters would not be as much as the rent.

Mr. HAY. Yes.

Mr. MANN. In Chicago, for instance, under this an officer might have quarters rented for him at \$50 a month per room if the Secretary of War—

Mr. HAY. No; I think not.

Mr. MANN. Well, I think so. It says:

Or in lieu thereof he may, in his discretion, rent quarters for the use of said nurses and enlisted men when so on duty.

Now, there is no limitation as to the amount of rent.

Mr. HAY. At the rate of \$15 per month.

Mr. MANN. Not at all; that is the commutation. The law now provides that you furnish quarters to certain people or commutation. This repeats the commutation provision which provides for an allowance at the rate of \$12 per month and certain people at the rate of \$15 per month, and then says that in lieu thereof he may in his discretion rent quarters for the use of said nurses and enlisted men when so on duty. I have no objection to that provision—

Mr. HAY. I will say to the gentleman it was not intended the Secretary of War should be authorized to go beyond the commutation already allowed by law.

Mr. MANN. Oh, I think the gentleman is mistaken. Now, the gentleman may not have had any such intention, but the Secretary of War has. The War Department is seeking to obtain the authority where it does not furnish quarters, where quarters cost more than \$12 per month per room, to have the Secretary of War rent quarters in an apartment building in Chicago and other cities at whatever rate the ordinary charges may be, and they are usually considerably more than \$12 a month for good quarters. Now, the provisions below show that—

Mr. HAY. I will say to the gentleman, that is not my understanding. If the law does that, I propose to offer an amendment which will prevent it. My understanding is that they want to rent quarters at not exceeding the rate now allowed by law.

Mr. MANN. Then I call the attention of the gentleman to lines 21 and 22, which read: "Which rate—"

Mr. HAY. That is light and heat.

Mr. MANN. Yes; that is heating and lighting there; but the paragraph above is the one that authorizes the Secretary of War, in his discretion, to hire quarters for commissioned officers, where there are no public quarters available, when in his opinion the commutation above provided for is inadequate, and when quarters are so furnished no commutation thereof shall be paid. Now, the very purpose of that is that if an officer who is allowed six rooms at \$12 a month, which would be \$72 a month, can not rent in an apartment which he thinks is suitable for his style six rooms at that rate he will ask the Secretary of War to increase it to \$100 or \$125 or \$200, and I suspect in New York it will be allowed.

Mr. HAY. I will state my idea is utterly opposite to that.

Mr. MANN. It is clear on the face of it. I am going to make the point of order, I will say to the gentleman.

Mr. HAY. Of course, it is subject to a point of order.

Mr. MANN. This provision as to nurses and enlisted men I feel a little more sympathetic with, although I hope they will not start in to rent quarters for nurses at the rate of \$50 a month.

Mr. HAY. They can not do it.

Mr. MANN. I beg the gentleman's pardon; it is exactly what they can do.

Mr. HAY. I do not think so.

Mr. MANN. They can pay the commutation, or, in lieu of commutation, the Secretary may, in his discretion, rent quarters for the use of said nurses and enlisted men when so on duty. There is no limitation as to the expense he may pay for those quarters.

Mr. HAY. I will put in an amendment to prevent it.

Mr. MANN. I hope the gentleman will.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman from Illinois yield?

Mr. MANN. Certainly.

Mr. KAHN. If the section does what the section says, it is certainly not the desire of the department itself to bring that about.

Mr. MANN. I think the gentleman is mistaken. I think that is what the department wants. It is not the first time they have tried to put it here.

Mr. KAHN. Here is what he said in the hearings. Gen. Aleshire said:

The purpose of this proposed amendment is to provide that commutation shall be paid to officers in all cases where they are not quartered

in public quarters, whether they be on duty with troops or without troops.

Mr. ANTHONY. Will that cost more or less money than at present?

Gen. ALESHIRE. It will cost less. Our figures show we can commute quarters to the officers for whom we are now renting quarters at a reduction of about \$7,200. No definite estimate has been made as to the total savings that will result from this proposed change, considering the whole scheme, but the savings will be material.

Mr. MANN. Oh, well, Gen. Aleshire was talking through his hat. He had not looked through the provision himself. Some officer down there has fixed it up. Does the provision in here which provides that when, in his opinion, the commutation provided for is inadequate he shall hire new quarters mean that he shall rent them for less than the commutation? Gen. Aleshire generally knows what he is talking about, but this time I think he was trying to conceal his knowledge.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report. The Chair will state that there is a point of order pending. It was made to this proviso by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. CALLAWAY], who reserved it.

Mr. CALLAWAY. I reserve the point of order. With the explanation of the chairman, and if this amendment goes into the bill, I think I will withdraw the point.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will report the amendment with the point of order pending.

The Clerk read as follows:

After the word "duty," in line 7, page 16, insert the following amendment:

"Provided further, That not more than the rate now allowed by law shall be paid in any case."

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Texas [Mr. CALLAWAY] withdraw the point of order?

Mr. CALLAWAY. I think we might pass that for the present and take up something else. I think the amendment could be put in at another place.

Mr. MANN. If the gentleman will suggest an amendment—

Mr. CALLAWAY. If you will pass that over, I will prepare an amendment and see if we can agree on it and go back to it.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas asks unanimous consent that this paragraph may be passed.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I do not like to pass over things. I am satisfied that this legislation is in the interest of economy. If the gentleman wants to make a point of order, it is all right. I have no objection to that.

Mr. CALLAWAY. I do not want to make a point of order on anything that is in the interest of economy.

Mr. HAY. What does the gentleman propose to add to the amendment that I have offered? I have offered it in good faith and tried to safeguard the proposition.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Well, Mr. Chairman, I will withdraw the point of order and let it go.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HAY].

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Provided further, That hereafter the Secretary of War may, in his discretion, hire quarters for commissioned officers, acting dental surgeons, veterinarians, and pay clerks on duty with troops where there are no public quarters available, when in his opinion the commutation above provided for is inadequate, and when quarters are so furnished no commutation thereof shall be paid.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against that.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois makes a point of order against the proviso, and the Chair sustains the point of order. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Provided further, That hereafter heat and light for the authorized allowance of quarters of commissioned officers, acting dental surgeons, veterinarians, pay clerks, nurses (female), and enlisted men, when on duty where there are no public quarters available, will be commuted at rates fixed by the Secretary of War and paid with and as a part of commutation of quarters, which rates shall, as nearly as possible, be computed upon a reimbursable basis.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order on that.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois makes a point of order, and the Chair sustains the point of order. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

For extra pay to enlisted men employed on extra duty for periods of not less than 10 days in the offices of coast defense artillery engineers, and coast defense ordnance officers, and as switchboard operators, at seacoast fortifications, \$14,004.90.

Mr. HULINGS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I would like to have some information about this matter of extra pay to enlisted men. I remember distinctly that on one occasion when I was in command of troops on board a transport there was a strike or mutiny of the civilian employees—the



stokers and firemen. The captain or shipmaster, who was in the employ of the Government, came to me and proposed that he would pay the going wages for stokers to such of my men as might volunteer. Thirty or forty enlisted men volunteered and performed the duty of stokers and were paid by the shipmaster, about \$400. But afterwards, when the shipmaster put in his bill to the United States Government, the whole amount was thrown out on the ground that the Government did not pay enlisted men for extra duty. Now, if that was a good rule amongst the volunteers, why should an exception be made for the enlisted men of the Regular Army? The services of these men in the Regular Army for every day in the year are employed—

Mr. MANN. It is all fixed by law.

Mr. HULINGS. It is all fixed by law; but it is just the law that I am objecting to. I think this would be a good time to change it.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. HULINGS. Certainly.

Mr. MANN. If you get an enlisted man at \$16 a month and assign him to the performance of some duty to which he may be properly assigned, and to which if he was not assigned you would have to pay a man \$100 a month to perform, does the gentleman say you ought not to let him do the work and pay him \$100 a month for his services?

Mr. HULINGS. I did not say that until that rule was denied in the case of the volunteers I have referred to. I have given you the circumstances, where the civil employees mutinied, and under the rule that enlisted men in the Regular service may be paid, this shipmaster, who had expended some four or five hundred dollars, put his claim into the Treasury for reimbursement. He never was paid, because they were Volunteers and not Regulars, I presume.

Mr. MANN. This extra pay is not at the whim of officers. The extra pay, in the main, is fixed either by law or regulation in all the cases where it is allowed.

Mr. HULINGS. Well, in that case there were civil employees, and they quit. The soldiers had to stoke the ship.

Mr. MANN. The fact that the law did not cover the case is hardly reason for repealing the law in a case where it is proper.

Mr. HULINGS. Yes; I understand that, but the objection I make is that there should be any law to cover these two cases differently.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman, I understand, is complaining because the law did not cover his case, and then at the same time because it does cover equally meritorious cases of somebody else?

Mr. HULINGS. My objection is that there should not be fish made of one and fowl of the other.

Mr. MANN. Well, fish and fowl are different. You have to make a distinction when you have them before you.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the pro forma amendment will be withdrawn and the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

For amount required to make monthly payments to Mabel H. Lazear, widow of Jesse W. Lazear, late acting assistant surgeon, United States Army, as per act of Congress approved May 23, 1908, \$1,500.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. CALLAWAY. I would like to have the chairman of the committee explain the nature of the allowances contained in these provisions.

Mr. HAY. I will say to the gentleman, Mr. Chairman, that a law was passed some years ago providing for the payment of these sums to these different individuals. It is the law, and of course we have to pay. These first two are widows of medical officers who lost their lives in Cuba as the result of experiments with yellow-fever mosquitoes. The other man, named in the paragraph beginning on line 6 of page 19, is a man who is still living; but he is a confirmed invalid, and his invalidism came from having been experimented upon for the same purposes.

Mr. CALLAWAY. These allowances are made every year?

Mr. HAY. Yes; ever since the Sixty-first Congress.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, as I understand it, these parties gave their lives to the development of the mosquito-bite theory of yellow fever?

Mr. HAY. Yes; they gave their lives in developing the mosquito-bite theory of yellow fever, and a special act was passed in each case for the benefit of these people, providing for the payment every year of these sums of money.

Mr. CALLAWAY. And this is a law?

Mr. HAY. Yes; it is based on the law. It is not only carried in an appropriation bill, but it is based upon a law that has been passed.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the pro forma amendment is withdrawn. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Additional pay for length of service, \$30,220.12.

Mr. ANTHONY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kansas [Mr. ANTHONY] moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. ANTHONY. Mr. Chairman, when the Army bill was before the House last year it contained a provision affording relief to officers of the Porto Rico Regiment. There were 11 American officers who were appointed to that regiment shortly after the Spanish-American War, most of whom saw service in the Spanish-American War, and have been holding positions as captains ever since 1904 without being afforded any opportunity whatever for promotion. Last year the House passed an amendment, which was incorporated in this bill, affording them relief by placing all the officers of the Porto Rico Regiment on the lineal list of officers of the Infantry of the Regular Army. The provision of last year applied to every officer of the Porto Rican Regiment, natives and Americans as well. When the bill got into conference, as I understand, there was some objection to the provision on the ground that it was not considered advisable to delocalize the Porto Rican Regiment. But there is no question, gentlemen of the committee, but that the American officers who are serving with that regiment ought to be afforded some relief, and if we give them relief in the shape of the amendment which I propose to offer, it will merely transfer them to the lineal list of the officers of Infantry, to come in with and following officers of equal length of service. It will leave 11 vacancies in the Porto Rico Regiment in the grade of captain, to which the native officers, now first and second lieutenants, would be eligible for promotion, thus affording them promotion which otherwise would not come to them. The Porto Rico Regiment is one of the finest in our Army. Its officers both American and Porto Rican are a splendid lot of men, the equal of others of their rank in other branches of the service and so deserving of the same privileges and opportunity for promotion. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I offer this amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kansas offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. ANTHONY: Insert as a new paragraph, to follow line 15, page 19, the following:

"Provided, That on the date of the approval of this act the permanent captains of the Porto Rican Regiment of Infantry shall be recommissioned as captains of Infantry of the United States Army, to take rank on the lineal list of officers of Infantry immediately after the junior officers of the same grade whose total commission equals or exceeds theirs."

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois reserves a point of order on the amendment.

Mr. MANN. It provides that on the date this act takes effect these captains will have to be recommissioned. They will have to be recommissioned by nomination of the President and confirmation by the Senate.

Mr. ANTHONY. I do not know as to that; but I think the provision is subject to a point of order.

Mr. HAY. Their names will have to be sent in to the Senate.

Mr. MANN. Certainly; their names will have to be sent to the Senate and confirmed.

Mr. ANTHONY. The same as any other officer on promotion?

Mr. MANN. Yes. Here you put in a provision that they shall be recommissioned on the day this act takes effect.

Mr. ANTHONY. They are already commissioned in the United States Army. This gives them no promotion, I will say to the gentleman.

Mr. MANN. It puts them in the regular establishment.

Mr. ANTHONY. They are already in the regular establishment, I will say to the gentleman.

Mr. MANN. Either one of two things is self-evident: Either it does something or it does not. If it means anything at all, it means a new commission and a new nomination and a new confirmation. The President has no authority to do it now under the law. I suppose we might give him the authority to appoint Army officers, if he proposed to avail himself of it, without sending the names to the Senate; but this provision requires that he shall commission these officers on the 3d of March, and possibly this bill will not be signed until four minutes before the final adjournment. How can he commission these officers



under those circumstances? The gentleman from Kansas had better change that and not say "on the date of the approval of this act."

Mr. ANTHONY. How would the gentleman change it?

Mr. MANN. If I could hear it read again, I might suggest a way to change it. But I would say leave out the language "on the date of the approval of this act." Let us have the amendment read again, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will report the amendment again.

The amendment was again read.

Mr. MANN. Just leave out the language "on the date of the approval of this act." and provide that the Porto Rican captains shall be recommissioned.

Mr. ANTHONY. I ask that the language referred to be stricken out, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the language of the amendment will be modified as indicated.

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment as it would read when modified.

The Clerk read as follows:

Insert as a new paragraph, to follow at the end of line 15, page 19, the following:

"Provided, That the permanent captains of the Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry shall be recommissioned as captains of Infantry of the United States Army, to take rank on the lineal list of officers of Infantry immediately after the junior officers of the same grade whose total commission equals or exceeds theirs."

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the point of order.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to be permitted to insert in the RECORD a brief speech made by David Clark, of Charlotte, N. C., before the Child Labor Conference in Washington a few weeks ago.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB] asks unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the speech referred to. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. ANTHONY] as modified.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ANTHONY. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kansas offers a further amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Insert as a new paragraph, preceding line 16, page 19, the following: "Provided, That officers of the Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry shall be eligible for detail on detached service."

Mr. HAY. I make a point of order on that amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia makes a point of order, and the Chair sustains the point of order. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Encampment and maneuvers, Organized Militia: For paying the expenses of the Organized Militia of any State, Territory, or of the District of Columbia, which may be authorized by the Secretary of War to participate in such encampments as may be established for the field instruction of the troops of the Regular Army, as provided by sections 15 and 21 of the act of January 21, 1903, entitled "An act to promote the efficiency of the militia, and for other purposes," to be immediately available and to remain available until the end of the fiscal year 1917, \$250,000.

Provided, That of this sum \$50,000, or as much thereof as may be necessary, is authorized to be expended for payment of transportation of teams of the Organized Militia authorized by the Secretary of War to participate in the national match.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Is it proposed to have any maneuvers this year?

Mr. HAY. Yes; I think so.

Mr. KAHN. This is for the coast-defense maneuvers.

Mr. HAY. It is the ordinary appropriation for the off year.

Mr. KAHN. One year it is for the mobile Army, and the next year it is for the coast defense.

Mr. HAY. One year we appropriate \$1,250,000, and the next year \$250,000.

Mr. SLAYDEN. The big appropriation is for the mobile Army, as I understand; but we did not have the maneuvers of the whole mobile Army last year.

Mr. HAY. No; and we did not spend the money.

Mr. SLAYDEN. That is what I wanted to know.

The Clerk read as follows:

Care of horses and matériel for Field Artillery of the Organized Militia: For the purchase and issue of forage, bedding, shoeing, and veterinary services and supplies for Field Artillery horses of the Organized Militia that may be owned or acquired by or issued to any State or Territory, or the District of Columbia, or an individual, a battery, or battalion, or regimental headquarters, and for the compensation of competent help for the care of the matériel, animals, and equipment thereof, under such regulations as the Secretary of War may

prescribe, \$200,000: *Provided*, That for the purpose of this section the total number of horses shall not exceed 32 to any one battery or 4 to each battalion or regimental headquarters, and that such horses shall be used exclusively for Field Artillery purposes: *And provided further*, That the men to be so compensated, not to exceed 5 for each battery, shall be duly enlisted therein and shall be detailed by the battery commander under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe, and shall be paid by the United States disbursing officer in each State provided for in the act of January 21, 1903, entitled, "An act to promote the efficiency of the militia, and for other purposes," as amended: *And provided further*, That the funds appropriated by section 1661, Revised Statutes, and by the act entitled "An act to promote the efficiency of the militia, and for other purposes," approved May 27, 1908, as amended, shall be available for the purchase, under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe, of horses conforming to the Regular Army standards, said horses to remain the property of the United States and to be for the sole continuous use of the Field Artillery of the Organized Militia: *And provided further*, That the Secretary of War may, under the provisions of this act and such regulations as he may prescribe, issue to the Field Artillery organizations hereinbefore mentioned and without cost to the State condemned Army horses which are no longer fit for service but may still be suitable for purposes of instruction, the same to be sold as now provided by law when the latter purpose has been served, \$ .

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 22, line 9, after the word "served," strike out the comma and the dollar mark and insert a period.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, I have not yet had an opportunity to read the hearings before the committee, and I want to ask the chairman whether there have been any recommendations by the Secretary of War or any of the chiefs of the various staff departments or any consideration of the question of the substitution of motor vehicles for horses? As I have read the story of the great war in Europe, it has seemed to me that one of the lessons of that war is that for the moving of guns and ammunition, and also largely for the transfer of men from one section of the battle line to another, which, in modern times, seems to have grown longer and longer, the day of the horse has gone, and that these machines are to be substituted and are much more efficient. I remember when I had the honor of serving on the committee under the chairmanship of my distinguished friend [Mr. HAY] a proposition was brought to the committee, or there was a recommendation, that there should be a purchase of motor vehicles—gasoline driven, I think, rather than electric—and I was impressed with it at the time. Subsequently, a colonel of the Army, a man in whom I have great confidence, a man of large experience and sound judgment, told me—and this was before the present war in Europe came on—that he believed the time had arrived when we would be compelled to equip our Army with these motor-driven machines. Now, I am not a big-army man. I am not in favor of expanding the Army at this time, because there appears to be less reason for it now than at any other period in my experience as a Member of this House, but I do want it the most efficient army possible; and if by getting these machines we can add to the mobile qualities of the Army, so that we can make the same small Army cover a much larger field of operations, I think it ought to be done. I have been interested in that, and I hope that an effort will be made to begin the construction of our Army upon that line. I wanted to ask the chairman of the committee if there had been any consideration of that proposition by the committee at this session in the making up of this bill?

Mr. HAY. No; there has not. We have not had any recommendation of that sort. I do not suppose the gentleman means to suggest that field artillery is to be drawn by motor vehicles?

Mr. SLAYDEN. I understand they are doing it in Europe.

Mr. HAY. Oh, no.

Mr. SLAYDEN. They are certainly drawing field artillery by dogs.

Mr. HAY. They may be drawing field artillery by dogs, but they are not transporting it by motor-drawn vehicles, as I understand it.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Including machine guns in the term "field artillery."

Mr. HAY. Oh, that is in armored cars; and we have an appropriation for that later on in the bill.

Mr. SLAYDEN. That is what I wanted to know.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Virginia.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Regular supplies, Quartermaster Corps: Regular supplies of the Quartermaster Corps, including their care and protection, consisting of stoves and heating apparatus required for heating offices, hospitals, barracks and quarters, and recruiting stations, and United States disciplinary barracks; also ranges, stoves, coffee roasters, and appliances for cooking and serving food at posts, in the field, and when traveling, and repair and maintenance of such heating and cooking appliances;



authorized issues of candles and matches; for furnishing heat and light for the authorized allowance of quarters for officers and enlisted men; for contract surgeons and acting dental surgeons when stationed at and occupying public quarters at military posts; for officers of the National Guard attending service and garrison schools, and for recruits, guards, hospitals, storehouses, offices, the buildings erected at private cost, in the operation of the act approved May 31, 1902; for sale to officers, and including also fuel and engine supplies required in the operation of modern batteries at established posts; for post bakeries, including bake ovens and apparatus pertaining thereto, and the repair thereof; for ice machines and their maintenance where required for the health and comfort of the troops and for cold storage; ice for issue to organizations of enlisted men and officers at such places as the Secretary of War may determine, and for preservation of stores; for the construction, operation, and maintenance of laundries at military posts in the United States and its island possessions; for the authorized issues of laundry materials for use of general prisoners confined at military posts without pay or allowances, and for applicants for enlistment while held under observation; authorized issues of soap; for hire of employees; for the necessary furniture, textbooks, paper, and equipment for the post schools and libraries; for the purchase and issue of instruments, office furniture, stationery, and other authorized articles for the use of officers' schools at the several military posts; commercial newspapers, market reports, etc.; for the tableware and mess furniture for kitchens and mess halls, each and all for the enlisted men, including recruits; of forage, salt, and vinegar for the horses, mules, oxen, and other draft and riding animals of the Quartermaster Corps at the several posts and stations and with the armies in the field, and for the horses of the several regiments of Cavalry, the batteries of Artillery, and such companies of Infantry and Scouts as may be mounted; for remounts and for the authorized number of officers' horses, including bedding for the animals; for seeds and implements required for the raising of forage at remount depots and on military reservations in the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands, and for labor and expenses incident thereto; for straw for soldiers' bedding, stationery, typewriters and exchange of same, including blank books and blank forms for the Quartermaster Corps, certificates for discharged soldiers, and for printing department orders and reports: *Provided*, That no part of the appropriations for the Quartermaster Corps shall be expended on printing unless the same shall be done at the Government Printing Office, or by contract after due notice and competition, except in such cases as the emergency will not admit of the giving notice of competition, and in cases where it is impracticable to have the necessary printing done by contract the same may be done, with the approval of the Secretary of War, by the purchase of material and hire of the necessary labor for the purpose. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, whenever the ice machines, steam laundries, and electric plants shall not come in competition with private enterprise for sale to the public, and in the opinion of the Secretary of War it becomes necessary to the economical use and administration of such ice machines, steam laundries, and electric plants as have been or may hereafter be established in pursuance of law, surplus ice may be disposed of, laundry work may be done for other branches of the Government, and surplus electric light and power may be sold on such terms and in accordance with such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War: *Provided*, That the funds received from such sales and in payment for such laundry work shall be used to defray the cost of operation of said ice, laundry, and electric plants, and the sales and expenditures herein provided for shall be accounted for in accordance with the methods prescribed by law, and any sums remaining after such cost of maintenance and operation have been defrayed shall be deposited in the Treasury to the credit of the appropriation from which the cost of operation of such plant is paid: *Provided*, That \$4,590, or so much thereof as may be necessary, of the amount appropriated herein may be used for reimbursing Apache prisoners of war for construction of approximately 51 miles of reservation fence around the Fort Sill (Okla.) Military Reservation, \$7,732,000.

Mr. MANN. I make a point of order on the last proviso.

Mr. HAY. I think it is subject to a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. MANN. Does the gentleman want to reduce the amount?

Mr. HAY. No; I think not. The amount was cut considerably by the committee, anyway.

Mr. MANN. Then I make the point of order as to the proviso, only down to but not including the figures "\$7,732,000."

Mr. HAY. I did not understand that the figures "\$7,732,000" were included in the proviso.

Mr. MANN. I do not know whether they were or not. They read as a part of the proviso.

Mr. HAY. I did not understand that the point of order reached that far.

Mr. MANN. I did not desire to make any point of order against the appropriation, although I think it ought to be cut.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois modifies his point of order so as to eliminate the total amount at the end of line 4 on page 28.

Mr. HAY. The proviso preceding that is subject to the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order as modified.

Mr. CALLAWAY. I want to ask the chairman of the committee about this provision here as to the United States disciplinary barracks. Is not this the creation of something new?

Mr. HAY. No. It is simply a change in name. What used to be called the military prison is now called the United States disciplinary barracks. The same provision which has been heretofore made for the military prison is now made for the United States disciplinary barracks.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Is it not predicated new legislation?

Mr. HAY. No, I think not; we struck the new legislation out of the bill as it was proposed to the committee. It was proposed to turn over the military prison which is now controlled by a board of Army officers to the Secretary of War, and give him the power to designate some officer to have supervision of these prisons. That was not accepted by the committee.

Mr. SLAYDEN. What I intended to ask the gentleman—and the gentleman from Texas will pardon me for interrupting—was with reference to a paragraph in which the provision seems to be specifically made of a change in the system of handling the prison.

Mr. HAY. That is in another paragraph. It is on page 30.

Mr. SLAYDEN. I see, it begins at the bottom of page 29.

Mr. HAY. The military prison is at Fort Leavenworth, and all the others are branches, and they propose to call that the United States disciplinary barracks, and the others branches of it. The language was put in in order to meet this proposed change. It has no bearing upon appropriations at all.

Mr. CALLAWAY. But it is a change in the manner of treatment?

Mr. HAY. Yes.

The Clerk read as follows:

Horses for Cavalry, Artillery, Engineers, etc.: For the purchase of horses of ages, sex, and size as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War for remounts, for officers entitled to public mounts, for the Cavalry, Artillery, Signal Corps, and Engineers, the United States Military Academy, service schools, and staff colleges, and for the Indian scouts, and for such Infantry and members of the Hospital Corps in field campaigns as may be required to be mounted, and the expenses incident thereto, and for the hire of employees: *Provided*, That the number of horses purchased under this appropriation, added to the number now on hand, shall be limited to the actual needs of the mounted service, including reasonable provisions for remounts, and, unless otherwise ordered by the Secretary of War, no part of this appropriation shall be paid out for horses not purchased by contract after competition duly invited by the Quartermaster Corps and an inspection under the direction and authority of the Secretary of War. When practicable, horses shall be purchased in open market at all military posts or stations, when needed, at a maximum price to be fixed by the Secretary of War: *Provided further*, That no part of this appropriation shall be expended for the purchase of any horse below the standard set by Army Regulations for Cavalry and Artillery horses, except when purchased as remounts or for instruction of cadets at the United States Military Academy: *And provided further*, That no part of this appropriation shall be expended for polo ponies except for West Point Military Academy, and such ponies shall not be used at any other place: *And provided further*, That the Secretary of War is authorized to expend \$2,110.32, or so much thereof as may be necessary, of the amount appropriated herein, for the completion of the purchase of certain lands included in the reservation of the Front Royal (Va.) Remount Depot, which was acquired under authority of the act of Congress approved March 3, 1911, namely, tracts 22, 25, and 28, aggregating 193½ acres, more or less, and for the release of all claims against the United States for the use and occupation thereof, the said sum being the amount necessary to complete the purchase of the said tracts under the proposed compromise of the suit now pending for the condemnation of the same, \$495,120.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I would like to inquire, although it may not be so pertinent to this paragraph as it was to a former paragraph, is the gentleman from Virginia able to tell us from specific knowledge as to the constant sale of quartermasters' supplies. I hold in my hand a letter from the Secretary of War, dated December 7, 1914, transmitting a statement of the proceeds of the sale of old material, condemned stores, supplies, and other public property, and so forth. I notice in one place that there are about a dozen items of quartermasters' property amounting to \$1,428. Below in another place there are 15 or 20 items, amounting to \$3,686, and in another place \$8,053, and all through are items like these: "A. S. Morgan, captain, kind of property sold, quartermaster's property, \$2,119."

Mr. HAY. I must confess, Mr. Chairman, that I do not know anything about that. I never have had it heretofore called to my attention, and therefore have made no inquiry about it.

Mr. MANN. Of course I assume that it is all right and regular.

Mr. HAY. I take it that it is under some existing law.

Mr. MANN. I am not questioning that, but I thought the gentleman might know whether it was property of somebody in the service or whether it was condemned property that was sold.

Mr. HAY. I think some of both.

Mr. MANN. I have noticed on F Street a place where they advertise Army and Navy supplies. I do not know how much is condemned property. Out in my town, I think, they keep a standing advertisement of condemned quartermasters' property, and they sell some very fine articles. Whether it is because there is a change made in the kind of blanket used, or something of that sort, I do not know.



Mr. HAY. That is true. Recently they have made a change in the saddle for the Cavalry, and as they provide the new saddles they sell the old. That has happened a number of times.

Mr. MANN. I suppose they buy the old ones, take them over to Europe and make use of them and are thankful of the chance, and find them just as good as the new saddle.

Mr. HAY. I do not think the Government sells any war material to other nations.

Mr. MANN. Oh, no; they sell it to private individuals.

Mr. HAY. They have gone so far now as to stop that—to prevent any war material reaching the belligerents, to prevent its getting there through private individuals.

Mr. MANN. Every one knows that we maintain an Army at a far greater expense per capita than any other nation in the world. I sometimes wonder if it is not because we first spend so much money sending companies back and forth from one place to another when it serves no useful purpose, and second in change of Army regulations concerning uniforms, selling them and buying new instead of having supplies that are continuous. I do not know whether that is the reason or not.

Mr. HAY. I think that has something to do with it, but the real reason is the pay of the Army. The gentleman will observe that nearly one-half of this bill is pay—over \$48,000,000.

Mr. MANN. Yes; but when you have an Army and pay it 50 per cent of the amount you would think that \$50,000,000 in addition would be more than enough to supply the necessities of the Army, even with some increase of ammunition and things of that kind.

Mr. HAY. I think the items we are now going over that come under the Quartermaster General are very carefully pruned. I know that he administers his department with a great deal of care and ability and with a purpose of economy.

Mr. MANN. I have no criticism or reflection on the Quartermaster General. I think he is one of the most efficient men I ever saw in any place in the Government.

Mr. HAY. I want to say that since he has been Quartermaster General he has reduced the expenses very largely. Of course in the last year or two this trouble down on the border has cost much more than the ordinary expenses. We have had to keep transports in condition to transport all the troops, and we have had a great deal of expense by reason of it. I do not think the transportation of the Army, the expense of it, is as great as it was some years ago. We must also take into consideration the fact that we have more men in the Army than before. The Army has been increased in two years by about 10,000 men, which, of course, makes it more expensive to keep it up.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, may I ask if it is not true that since the consolidation of the Pay Department, the Quartermaster General's Department, and the Subsistence Department into what is now known as the Quartermaster Corps there has been made all of the savings in administration which Gen. Alshire told the committee would be effected?

Mr. HAY. Yes; and more.

Mr. SLAYDEN. He has made good in every respect?

Mr. HAY. Yes.

The Clerk read as follows:

Barracks and quarters: For barracks, quarters, stations, storehouses, magazines, administration and office buildings, sheds, shops, and other buildings necessary for the shelter of troops, public animals, and stores, and for administration purposes, except those pertaining to the Coast Artillery; for repairing public buildings at military posts; for hire of employees; for rental of the authorized allowance of quarters for officers and acting dental surgeons on duty with the troops at posts and stations where no public quarters are available; of barracks or authorized allowance of quarters for noncommissioned officers and enlisted men on duty where public quarters are not available; of grounds for cantonments, camp sites, and other military purposes, and of buildings or portions of buildings for occupation by troops, for use as stables, storehouses, and offices, and for other military purposes; for the hire of recruiting stations and lodgings for recruits; for such furniture for the public rooms of officers' messes and for officers' quarters at military posts as may be approved by the Secretary of War; for wall lockers in permanent barracks, and refrigerators in barracks and quarters; for screen doors, window screens, storm doors and sash, and window shades for barracks, offices, and quarters, and for flooring and framing for tents: *Provided*, That no part of the moneys so appropriated shall be paid for commutation of fuel or quarters to officers or enlisted men: *And provided further*, That the number of and total sum paid for civilian employees in the Quartermaster Corps shall be limited to the actual requirements of the service, and that no employee therein shall receive a salary of more than \$150 per month, except upon the approval of the Secretary of War, \$2,000,000.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 33, after the figures "\$2,000,000," in line 12, amend by adding the following words: "*Provided*, That of the foregoing appropriation \$5,000, or so much thereof as may be required, shall be expended to complete the post chapel at Fort Sam Houston."

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the gentleman a question in reference to this. Is there an appropriation for constructing this post chapel now?

Mr. SLAYDEN. No; there is not.

Mr. MANN. This refers to completing the post chapel?

Mr. SLAYDEN. Yes. The chapel was constructed from money contributed by the people of San Antonio, who gave altogether about \$36,000, although when the chaplain who engineered the project appealed to them in the beginning they agreed to give only \$25,000. However, he was a very plausible and successful beggar, and he induced them to increase their contributions by ten or eleven thousand dollars. This money has all been expended.

Mr. MANN. Can the chapel be completed with this \$5,000 it is proposed to appropriate?

Mr. SLAYDEN. So the Quartermaster General's office says.

Mr. MANN. I hope, Mr. Chairman, they will extend the service and benefit of that chapel beyond the military camp to the citizens of San Antonio, including my distinguished friend. Hoping that that will be done, I can see no objection to the appropriation.

Mr. SLAYDEN. It is stated that our population has been increased very much by immigration from the State of Illinois, and probably the suggestion is a good one.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Transportation of the Army and its supplies: For transportation of the Army and its supplies, including transportation of the troops when moving either by land or water, and of their baggage, including the cost of packing and crating; for transportation of recruits and recruiting parties; of applicants for enlistment between recruiting stations and recruiting depots; for travel allowance to enlisted men on discharge; of persons on their discharge from the United States disciplinary barracks or from any place in which they have been held under a sentence of dishonorable discharge and confinement for more than six months, or from the Government Hospital for the Insane after transfer thereto from such barracks or place, to their homes (or elsewhere as they may elect), provided the cost in each case shall not be greater than to the place of last enlistment; of supplies furnished to the militia for the permanent equipment thereof; of the necessary agents and other employees, including per diem allowances in lieu of subsistence not exceeding \$4 for those authorized to receive the per diem allowance; of clothing and equipage and other quartermaster stores from Army depots or places of purchase or delivery to the several posts and Army depots and from those depots to the troops in the field; of horse equipment; of ordnance and ordnance stores, and small arms from the foundries and armories to the arsenals, fortifications, frontier posts, and Army depots; for payment of wharfage, tolls, and ferrage; for transportation of funds of the Army; for the hire of employees; for the payment of Army transportation lawfully due such land-grant railroads as have not received aid in Government bonds (to be adjusted in accordance with the decisions of the Supreme Court in cases decided under such land-grant acts), but in no case shall more than 50 per cent of full amount of service be paid: *Provided*, That such compensation shall be computed upon the basis of the tariff or lower special rates for like transportation performed for the public at large and shall be accepted as in full for all demands for such service: *Provided further*, That in expending the money appropriated by this act a railroad company which has not received aid in bonds of the United States, and which obtained a grant of public land to aid in the construction of its railroad on condition that such railroad should be a post route and military road, subject to the use of the United States for postal, military, naval, and other Government services, and also subject to such regulations as Congress may impose restricting the charge for such Government transportation, having claims against the United States for transportation of troops and munitions of war and military supplies and property over such aided railroads, shall be paid out of the moneys appropriated by the foregoing provision only on the basis of such rate for the transportation of such troops and munitions of war and military supplies and property as the Secretary of War shall deem just and reasonable under the foregoing provision, such rate not to exceed 50 per cent of the compensation for such Government transportation as shall at that time be charged to and paid by private parties to any such company for like and similar transportation; and the amount so fixed to be paid shall be accepted as in full for all demands for such service; for the purchase and hire of draft and pack animals in such numbers as are actually required for the service, including reasonable provision for replacing unserviceable animals; for the purchase, hire, operation, maintenance, and repair of such harness, wagons, carts, drays, other vehicles and motor-propelled and horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles, as are required for the transportation of troops and supplies, and for official, military, and garrison purposes; for drayage and cartage at the several depots; for the hire of teamsters and other employees; for the purchase and repair of ships, boats, and other vessels required for the transportation of troops and supplies and for official, military, and garrison purposes; for expenses of sailing public transports and other vessels on the various rivers, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans: *Provided further*, That \$75,000 of the appropriation hereby made shall be available for additional pay of employees on harbor boats, quartermaster service, in lieu of subsistence: *Provided further*, That authority is hereby granted the Secretary of War to sell or otherwise dispose of, in accordance with law and regulations, the United States Army transports Meade and Crook, \$10,516,000.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the point of order on the last proviso. Last year we authorized the sale of the transports *Seward* and *Wright*, if I remember correctly. I do not know whether they have been sold or not or how much has been realized from them if they have been sold. I do not know whether the President's shipping bill—I believe that is the proper



term to use in speaking of it, and I do not want to call it anything that is not agreeable to the other side—I do not know whether the President's shipping bill is going to become a law or not, but if that becomes a law is it desirable to sell these transports to somebody and then buy them back at probably twice the price?

Mr. HAY. I understand these transports are very old. One of them—

Mr. KAHN. Is 32 years old.

Mr. MANN. Oh, there are lots of vessels 32 years old that we will buy before we get through, if we start to buy vessels.

Mr. HAY. I take it that the War Department thinks it will be to the interest of the service to dispose of these two transports.

Mr. MANN. Possibly we do not need them any more. I do not know about that; but if the War Department sells vessels and then the Treasury Department buys them, we all know that the Government in the end will get left as it did under the McKinley administration. We bought a lot of useless vessels at the time of the Spanish War and then afterwards tried to give them away. Maybe these are some of them. I do not know.

Mr. HAY. I will say to the gentleman I had a statement here giving the reasons why these are to be sold, giving the age of the ships and the further reason that they were no longer useful for transportation purposes.

Mr. MANN. They are giving such exhaustive consideration to this subject over in the body at the other end of the Capitol that I am inclined to make the point of order upon this, and then let them reinsert it into the bill if they think it wise, after they have passed the shipping bill and if they still want to sell these vessels. Of course I do not care.

Mr. HAY. It is subject to a point of order.

Mr. MANN. I understand the gentleman does not care?

Mr. HAY. Except for this, that I think the recommendation has been made in good faith.

Mr. MANN. I have no doubt of that. The War Department wants to get rid of the vessels, I have no doubt. The Treasury Department wants to get hold of some vessels.

Mr. HAY. Whether they want to get hold of vessels of this character, I do not know.

Mr. MANN. Neither do I; but the authority in the shipping bill is to transfer these vessels that are not needed over to the men who have charge under the shipping bill. That authority is carried.

Mr. HAY. The gentleman means in the shipping bill?

Mr. MANN. In the shipping bill. If that becomes a law, it seems to me we ought to be consulted first before we start to build the vessels.

Mr. HAY. I have no objection. Mr. Chairman, it is subject to the point of order. The gentleman, I understand, does not include the appropriation in the point of order?

Mr. MANN. Oh, no. I make the point of order on the last proviso, not including the appropriation.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order, and the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Roads, walks, wharves, and drainage: For the construction and repair by the Quartermaster Corps of roads, walks, and wharves; for the pay of employees; for the disposal of drainage; for dredging channels; and for care and improvement of grounds at military posts and stations, \$600,000.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. LOBECK] wants to offer an amendment. I do not know what it is.

Mr. LOBECK. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer the following amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 37, line 6, after the figures "\$600,000," insert: "Provided, That not more than \$6,000 of this appropriation may be used in defraying one-half the cost of paving Thirtieth Street between Fort and Laurel Streets, along the east side of Fort Omaha, in Omaha, Nebr."

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the amendment.

Mr. LOBECK. Mr. Chairman, Fort Omaha is situated on the west side of Thirtieth Street, in the northern part of the city of Omaha, and it is necessary that that street be paved, or rather repaved. Heretofore the property owners on the street have had to pay for the Government share of the paving. I have had this matter up with the War Department, and they estimated the cost of paving, according to the engineer's figures, and the War Department states it ought to pay \$6,000 as its share. This does not increase the appropriation at all, but it directs that of this \$600,000, \$6,000 should be used for this purpose. The residents of Omaha living out on this street are

ready to have the street repaved. The abutting property owners on the east side of the street are willing to pay their full share.

Mr. CALLAWAY. What is the reason that the Government ought to pay any part of this street paving?

Mr. LOBECK. The Government owns a large part of the property, and it is used for the Signal Corps at old Fort Omaha, and there is no reason why the small cottage owners on the east side of the street should pay for this Government paving.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Is that a public street of the town?

Mr. LOBECK. It is a public street which extends out into the country.

Mr. GARNER. But the citizens pay on each side, and therefore it is contended that if the citizens pay half the Government ought to pay half. Is that right?

Mr. CALLAWAY. It is the city's business—

Mr. LOBECK. No; it is not the city's business, because the law on paving is different from what it is in the District of Columbia. Here in the District of Columbia the Government pays one-half of all the paving.

Mr. BAILEY. How are the other streets paved?

Mr. LOBECK. In Omaha? The property adjoining on each side of the street pays its proportionate share.

Mr. BAILEY. Special assessments on it?

Mr. LOBECK. Special assessments. This matter has been looked into very carefully—

Mr. CALLAWAY. As I understand, the Government owns property on one side of the street and the citizens on the other side of the street, and they want a division of the cost between the Government and the citizens?

Mr. LOBECK. And the street railroad pays for its share of paving where the street railway runs along the street and extends into the country.

Mr. CALLAWAY. We have some kind of a provision, I remember, in the city of Fort Worth. The citizens of Fort Worth want the Government to pay one-half of the paving expenses where the public building is, and they said they had no authority under law to do anything like that.

Mr. LOBECK. I will say to the gentleman that around the Federal building in Omaha, which covers a full square, and the Army building, which covers a quarter of a square, the city has paid for paving and repairing. That is down town in the city, where the public use it, but this street leads out into the country in the suburbs of the city, and it is hardly fair for the small cottage owner to pay for all of the paving.

Mr. CALLAWAY. It is just as fair out there that the expense should come on the city or county as it is on the city or county down town.

Mr. LOBECK. I will tell the gentleman what more we do. Wherever the intersections of streets occur there, the city pays the paving of the intersections out of the general fund, so that the only paving that the Government would pay for on this street is actually in front of its own land.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Would not that be a change of policy of the Government in respect to street paving throughout the whole country?

Mr. LOBECK. No; it has been done heretofore in the matter of guttering along the east side of its property. The Government would not have to pay for any of the street guttering; the Government has already paid its share of the improvement.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. CALLAWAY. It looks to me like a dangerous innovation.

Mr. LOBECK. I offer the correspondence in relation to this paving between the city, the War Department, and myself:

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS,  
OFFICE OF CITY CLERK,  
Omaha, Nebr., May 29, 1914.

Hon. C. O. LOBECK,  
Congressman, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Herewith please find copy of resolution No. 2926, adopted by the city council on May 28, 1914, relative to repairs needed on North Thirtieth Street, from Fort Street to Laurel Avenue, together with plat showing said proposed improvements.

Trusting you will give this matter your prompt attention, I remain,  
Yours, respectfully,

THOMAS J. FLYNN, City Clerk.

CITY OF OMAHA, COUNCIL CHAMBER,  
Omaha, Nebr., May 28, 1914.

Whereas North Thirtieth Street is the main thoroughfare leading into the city of Omaha from the north and the daily travel upon said street, to and from Forest Lawn Cemetery, Miller Park, the village of Florence, and the thickly settled agricultural portion of Douglas County surrounding same is very heavy; and

Whereas North Thirtieth Street, from Fort Street to Laurel Avenue, leads past the property of the United States Government known as Fort Omaha, and is not in suitable or proper condition for public travel; and



Whereas the estimated cost of repairing said portion of North Thirtieth Street and placing same in suitable and proper condition for public travel, by paving and curbing and constructing necessary sewers, is as follows:

	Total cost.	Chargeable to Government.
Paving:		
District, 6,293 square yards.....	\$13,251.30	\$6,925.00
Intersections, 322 square yards.....	676.20	
Curbing:		
District, 1,840 linear feet.....	1,472.00	
Intersections, 101 linear feet.....	95.00	
Constructing sewers.....	4,208.58	2,200.00
Total cost.....	19,703.88	9,125.00

Therefore be it

Resolved by the City Council of the City of Omaha, That Senator G. M. HITCHCOCK and Congressman C. O. LOBECK be, and they are hereby, requested to take the necessary steps to procure an appropriation by Congress amounting to \$9,125 for the purpose of paying that portion chargeable to the United States Government of the cost of placing North Thirtieth Street from Fort Street to Laurel Avenue in a suitable and proper condition for public travel by paving and curbing and constructing necessary sewers.

Resolved, further, That the city clerk be, and he is hereby, directed to forward a copy of this resolution forthwith to Senator G. M. HITCHCOCK and Congressman C. O. LOBECK at Washington, D. C.

By THOMAS MCGOVERN.

Adopted May 28, 1914.

JAMES C. DAHLMAN,  
Mayor and President City Council.

THOMAS J. FLYNN,  
City Clerk.

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
Washington, D. C., June 1, 1914.

Attest:

Hon. C. O. LOBECK, M. C.,  
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your communication of May 28, 1914, relative to the War Department contributing one-half the cost of repaving Thirtieth Street adjoining the military reservation of Fort Omaha, Nebr., has been received. A proper reference has been made in order to enable the necessary information to be obtained. As soon as possible you will be further advised in the premises.

Very respectfully,

J. B. ALESHIRE,  
Quartermaster General.  
By R. B. MCBRIDE,  
Captain, Quartermaster Corps.

JUNE 2, 1914.

Hon. LINDLEY M. GARRISON,  
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: We desire to request consideration by the War Department of a matter of some repairs urgently needed on Thirtieth Street from Fort Street to Laurel Avenue, in the city of Omaha, along the east line of the Fort Omaha Reservation. The city council of the city of Omaha has adopted a resolution, copy of which is herewith inclosed, reciting the need for repairs to this street and estimating the total cost of paving, curbing, and sewer work at \$19,703.88, as follows:

	Total cost.	Chargeable to Government.
Paving:		
District, 6,293 square yards.....	\$13,251.30	\$6,925.00
Intersections, 322 square yards.....	676.20	
Curbing:		
District, 1,840 linear feet.....	1,472.00	
Intersections, 101 linear feet.....	95.00	
Constructing sewers.....	4,208.58	2,200.00
Total cost.....	19,703.88	9,125.00

It will be seen from the above that the amount properly chargeable to the Government is \$9,125, and we are now engaged in an effort to secure the inclusion of this item in the sundry civil appropriation bill, now in the hands of the committee in the House of Representatives and soon to be reported. If possible, we would like to have the department make an estimate for this appropriation before the bill leaves the committee of the House; and if not possible to do it so soon, it is requested that you furnish an estimate that can be used before the Appropriations Committee of the Senate.

From our knowledge of the situation we are impressed with the necessity of this work, as Thirtieth Street is a highway of heavy travel, and the macadamized road heretofore serving has some time ago ceased to be of any service. We sincerely trust, therefore, that this may receive the early and favorable consideration of the War Department.

We also inclose for your information a blue print prepared by the department of public improvements of Omaha, showing in detail the district in which the improvements are to be made.

Yours, truly,

G. M. HITCHCOCK, United States Senator.  
C. O. LOBECK, Member of Congress.

(Inclosures.)

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
Washington, June 4, 1914.

Senator G. M. HITCHCOCK,  
Hon. C. O. LOBECK, M. C.,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIRS: Referring to your letter dated June 2, 1914, I have the honor to inform you that the matter of repairing that part of

Thirtieth Street which lies directly east of the Fort Omaha, Nebr., reservation in the city of Omaha has been previously referred to the War Department, and that the papers relating thereto have been forwarded to the commanding general, Central Department, for a report.

It is noted from the blue print furnished with your letter that the proposed sewer is not on land belonging to the United States, and it would not therefore seem that any part of the cost of construction thereof should be paid for by the Government. It is also noted that one of the tracks of the Omaha & Council Bluffs Street Railway Co. will, in the proposed new location, be entirely on the lands of the reservation. There is no information in the War Department regarding such a location of this railroad. From maps on file in the War Department it would seem that if the railroad tracks were left in their present location, which is not on Government land, the cost of repairing the street would be materially less than the amount, \$19,703.88, stated in the estimate. No information is given in the papers as to whether or not any grading will be required, the character of the material to be used in the repairs, nor what effect the work might have on Government improvements on the reservation.

All of the information referred to in the preceding paragraph will be furnished in the report requested from the commanding general, Central Department. Until the receipt of this report it is thought that any estimate which might be furnished would be so inexact as to be of little practical value.

However, from the information in your letter it would seem that an approximate amount of \$6,000 would be ample to pay for the Government's share of the paving. The item of \$2,200, for half of the cost of the sewer, is not included in this estimate for the reason that the sewer in question will not be on the reservation.

As soon as the report requested from the department commander is received, the matter will receive further consideration, and a definite estimate of cost as requested in your letter can be furnished.

Very respectfully,

L. M. GARRISON,  
Secretary of War.

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
Washington, June 15, 1914.

Hon. C. O. LOBECK, M. C.,  
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Referring to your letter to the Chief of Engineers dated June 10, 1914, I have the honor to advise you that there is no record of the matter of the extension of the water main along the Fort Omaha grounds on Thirtieth Street, in Omaha, Nebr., in this department. However, the records of the office of the Quartermaster General show that a letter was received from you on May 28, which referred to repaving Thirtieth Street along the Fort Omaha reservation and the reconstruction of the sewer line on that street. A letter was mailed in reply thereto on June 3, 1914, stating that the matter had been referred to the department commander for report. On June 3 a letter signed jointly by Senator G. M. HITCHCOCK and yourself was referred to this office. This letter stated the necessity for repaving Thirtieth Street and for laying a sewer line, and requested an estimate of cost. Under date of June 4 the Secretary of War replied to the letter of June 2, and there is inclosed for your information a copy of that reply. It will be noted that the water mains referred to in letter of June 10 do not seem to have been mentioned in the previous correspondence.

2. The report regarding the repaving of Thirtieth Street has not yet been received, but it is expected that in a short time the matter will be again taken up.

Very respectfully,

HENRY BRECKINRIDGE,  
Assistant Secretary of War.

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
Washington, August 6, 1914.

Hon. C. O. LOBECK, M. C.,  
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: 1. Replying to your letters dated May 28 and June 2, 1914, with which you inclosed a letter from Mr. Randall K. Brown, Omaha, Nebr., relative to the paving of Thirtieth Street adjoining the Government property at Fort Omaha, I have the honor to advise you that the case has been given consideration.

2. It appears that this street lies alongside of the Fort Omaha Reservation; that it is the main traveled thoroughfare coming into Omaha from the north; and that the Government reservation extends to the middle of the street.

3. Careful consideration has been given the matter, and it is believed that the improvements suggested by you are necessary and will be a benefit to the Government. It is thought that \$6,000, the amount stated in the previous communication as necessary for the purpose, will be sufficient to pay for that portion of the cost of the proposed improvements which should be borne by the United States. The cost of the sewer, which is not a necessity for the reservation and does not in any way improve it, should not be charged against the Government.

4. As to the application of the Omaha & Council Bluffs Street Railway Co. for permission to relocate its tracks on that part of the street within the reservation, the Judge Advocate General has held that the city, in its control of the easement of the public for a right of way over said street for public use, has full power to authorize any such relocation. I am of the opinion, however, that if such a relocation be authorized, the company should be required to pave and to keep in repair all that part of the street between the Government line and the tracks for a width of 8 feet west of said boundary. If the city has authority to authorize relocation of the tracks, it should make provision for the upkeep of that part utilized by the street railway company.

Very respectfully,

JOHN C. SCOFIELD,  
Assistant and Chief Clerk.

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
OFFICE OF THE QUARTERMASTER GENERAL OF THE ARMY,  
Washington, December 23, 1914.

Hon. C. O. LOBECK, M. C.,  
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: 1. Referring to your visit of this date, the records regarding the proposed paving of that part of Thirtieth Street, Omaha, Nebr., adjoining Fort Omaha, have been examined by this office.

2. For your information, it appears that the original estimate of May 28, from the city council of the city of Omaha, stated a total amount of \$19,703.88 as necessary for this work, and that the part chargeable to the Government would be \$9,125.



3. The question was carefully examined by the local officers, and the conclusion stated in the letter from the assistant and chief clerk of the War Department, dated August 6, 1914, that \$6,000 would be sufficient to pay for the part of the work which would be properly chargeable to the United States, was arrived at. The cost of constructing sewers, viz, \$2,200, did not appear to the War Department to be a proper charge against the Government. It was also thought by the War Department that the city authorities would have the right to grant the application of the Omaha & Council Bluffs Street Railway Co. to relocate its tracks, and that if such relocation should be authorized the company should be required to pave and keep in repair all that part of the street between the Government line and the tracks for a width of 8 feet west of said boundary.

4. No action seems to have been taken after the letter of August 6, except that the local military authorities were furnished with a copy of that letter for their information.

5. For your information, it may be stated that the letter of August 6 indicates the belief of the War Department that the Government should bear a part of the cost of the contemplated improvements. No funds are available for the expenditure necessary and no estimate has been made for the purpose.

6. It would therefore seem that if the work is to be done and the Government is to pay for its part of it, the necessary amount, viz, \$6,000, would have to be secured by congressional action.

7. The correspondence which you left in this office is herewith returned.

8. Trusting that the information given above will fully inform you as to the present status of the case, I have the honor to remain,

Very respectfully,

J. B. ALESHIRE, Quartermaster General.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I want to say the Government, or rather Congress, heretofore has declined, except in some very extraordinary cases, to make appropriations for roads in cities or from the town to a cemetery, and so forth. There are now pending before the Committee on Military Affairs some forty or fifty bills asking appropriations for the building of roads and pavements in towns where they have national cemeteries, and so forth, amounting to some four or five hundred thousand dollars, and heretofore the committee has not felt justified in reporting any of those bills. Now, if this is a different case from the usual case, I am perfectly willing the gentleman should have his appropriation; but I have not seen yet that he has differentiated his case from any of the others which are asking for the same thing, and unless he can do so I shall be compelled to insist on the point of order and oppose his proposition.

Mr. LOBECK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAY. Yes.

Mr. LOBECK. Will the gentleman allow me to recur back to this item in a few moments? I will bring letters from the department from my office on this subject and then take it up.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska asks unanimous consent to pass this over until he can bring some information from the department.

Mr. LOBECK. I intended to bring it with me, but forgot to do so.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman can not bring any information on this subject to keep me from making the point of order on it.

Mr. LOBECK. I do not care to argue the point of order with the gentleman, because I am not a lawyer or a parliamentarian.

The CHAIRMAN. What does the gentleman from Illinois say about this? That this is not authorized by law?

Mr. MANN. Yes; and also that this committee does not have jurisdiction over this class of items anyhow.

Mr. HAY. We have jurisdiction over appropriations for military roads.

Mr. MANN. But this is not a military road, and the committee of the gentleman does not have jurisdiction over this class of cases, which go into the sundry civil bill. They have jurisdiction over such legislation.

Mr. HAY. The committee has jurisdiction, in my judgment, to report a separate bill.

Mr. MANN. Oh, undoubtedly.

Mr. HAY. Now, if the gentleman is going to make the point of order, there is no use of delaying the committee.

Mr. MANN. I would not be willing to make a departure from the settled policy of the Government in a particular case without legislation upon the subject. I do not know but that I would favor the legislation, however.

Mr. HAY. I make the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

After line 6, page 37, insert as a separate paragraph the following:  
"The Secretary of War is hereby authorized to accept on behalf of the Government of the United States the land which has been donated for the purpose of connecting the monument of the Ninth Regiment of New York Volunteers with the road system of the battle field of Antietam."

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I will say that I offer that at the request of these associations.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. LOBECK. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the Record. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Water and sewers at military posts: For procuring and introducing water to buildings and premises at such military posts and stations as from their situation require it to be brought from a distance; for the installation and extension of plumbing within buildings where the same is not specifically provided for in other appropriations; for the purchase and repairs of fire apparatus, including fire-alarm systems; for the disposal of sewage, and expenses incident thereto, including the authorized issue of toilet paper; for repairs to water and sewer systems and plumbing within buildings; and for hire of employees, \$1,639,000.

Provided, That \$75,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, of the amount appropriated herein shall be immediately available for commencing the project of improving and increasing the water supply at Corregidor Island, P. I.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order.

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order against the proviso.

Mr. MANN. I reserve the point of order against the paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois reserves the point of order against the paragraph and the gentleman from North Carolina reserves the point of order against the proviso.

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, this proviso reads:

Provided, That \$75,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, of the amount appropriated herein shall be immediately available for commencing the project of improving and increasing the water supply of Corregidor Island, P. I.

In the sundry civil act for 1914 there is an item, estimated for and put in at the request of the War Department, which reads as follows:

For continuing the construction and installation of the necessary accommodations and equipment for storage, electric power, and water supply for the Army in the Philippine Islands, to be immediately available and to remain available until expended, \$154,000.

I make the point of order against this proviso. No estimate was submitted in the Book of Estimates for this particular item and it has already been appropriated for in a previous appropriation bill.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman is entirely mistaken. It has not been appropriated for. It is an entirely separate and distinct proposition from the one contained in the sundry civil bill. This is for the purpose of obtaining drinking water, which they absolutely have to have—the digging of artesian wells, as I understand it—and it was requested to be put in here, and the Quartermaster General sent me an explanation of it when my attention was called to it by one of the members of the Appropriations Committee, showing that it was an entirely separate and distinct proposition. I do not think it is subject to the point of order for either one of the reasons given by the gentleman from North Carolina. Of course the words "shall be immediately available" make it subject to the point of order.

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. Yes; the fact that it shall be immediately available I think makes it subject to a point of order if for no other reasons.

Mr. HAY. Of course if the gentleman insists on the point of order—

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, in addition to that—

Mr. HAY. But I want to call his attention to the fact that it is not the project to which he refers.

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. I would say to the gentleman from Virginia that in reading the hearings before the sundry civil subcommittee a year ago I do not see that there is any differentiation made by the officials as to a drinking supply and any other water supply. This work had been in progress at that time, and they represented to the committee in the hearings when this appropriation was made that this \$154,000 was necessary to complete the water supply at this particular place; and in that bill it was made immediately available on their representation. Now I will read from the hearings.

It was requested that \$75,000 of the amounts needed for Corregidor Island be made immediately available, as the situation was acute, and it was thought that this amount could be advantageously and economically expended before the 1916 appropriations became available.



If the gentleman will allow me, Col. Burr, in the hearings before the subcommittee on appropriations having in charge the sundry civil bill—

Mr. HAY. He was an engineer officer?

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. He was an engineer officer. The chairman of the committee, Mr. FITZGERALD, propounded questions to him. He said:

We had appropriated all that was asked—

That was in connection with this water supply—

and they missed their guess by \$154,000. Now, who missed?

Col. BURR. The explanation is probably due to the fact that the \$250,000 which was appropriated for storage purposes—

The CHAIRMAN. First, what did we appropriate for the power plant? Col. BURR. \$154,666.67 was appropriated for electric power plant at Corregidor Island to cover the cost of the power plant for general post purposes. This figure came up in this way—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). That was in the fortifications bill? Col. BURR. In the sundry civil act of March 4, 1911. Those figures were derived from an estimate made by the Engineer Department of the cost of a joint plant for defensive and post purposes, the proportionate share, one-third of the cost, being chargeable against defense appropriations and being provided for out of the appropriations of the Engineer Department made for that purpose, and the other two-thirds being chargeable to post purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HAY] has expired.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina may have two minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, in regard to the point of order, I will quote from section 1136 of the Revised Statutes:

Permanent barracks or quarters and buildings and structures of a permanent nature shall not be constructed unless detailed estimates shall have been previously submitted to Congress and approved by a special appropriation for the same, except when constructed by the troops; and no such structure, the cost of which shall exceed \$20,000, shall be erected unless by special authority of Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the gentleman reading from?

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. From section 1136 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. This is undoubtedly subject to the point of order on account of the words "immediately available."

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. I do not care to say anything more.

The CHAIRMAN. If the point of order is insisted on, the Chair will sustain the point of order.

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. I insist on it, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. I insist upon the point of order, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HAY. The Chair sustains the point of order to the proviso?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that we amend the total by subtracting the \$75,000, otherwise I understand the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] would insist upon a point of order on the whole paragraph.

Mr. HAY. If he does, I can offer an amendment.

Mr. MANN. I will not, so far as I am concerned.

Mr. HAY. I want to point out to the gentleman that the War Department estimated—

Mr. MANN. It seems to me that the amount ought to be reduced, but I am not going to make the point.

Mr. HAY. I want to say this: The War Department estimates for improving water supply at Corregidor Island by the construction of reservoirs with a capacity for 1,000,000 gallons, down-spout connections, cisterns, pipe lines, fittings, and so forth, to utilize rainfall on that part of the reservation known as "Top Side," \$116,859, and they propose to spend \$75,000 of it at once. The very fact that this item of \$75,000 has gone out on a point of order, forbidding them to spend that amount at once, does not cut out the estimate they have made for expenditure on that object.

Mr. MANN. Undoubtedly, if the appropriation is to be made on the Army bill, the sum ought not to be reduced. If, however, the appropriation is made on the sundry civil bill, it ought not to be here.

Mr. HAY. The claim is that the sundry civil bill of last year carried this item; not that they are going to make this improvement, but that it was made.

Mr. MANN. I did not hear what the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. PAGE] said, but I have no doubt it was correct; but I presume the claim was that the sundry civil bill for last year carried for this purpose all that was asked for at that time.

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. That is true.

Mr. MANN. The assumption I was making was that the Appropriations Committee had jurisdiction and would carry any appropriation that was necessary this year.

Mr. HAY. I do not agree with the gentleman from North Carolina in the statement that the Committee on Appropriations has no more jurisdiction over this item than has the Committee on Military Affairs, and now is a very good time to call attention to the manner in which the jurisdiction of these committees is arranged. Here is a very good illustration of it. Here we are asked to appropriate so much for a project in the Philippine Islands. Here comes the gentleman from North Carolina from another committee and says that they have already appropriated the money. Now, if the Committee on Military Affairs, as was intended, appropriated for the entire military establishment, things of that sort could not happen.

Mr. FITZGERALD. If the gentleman will permit me, there was never any contemplation that the Committee on Military Affairs should appropriate for the entire military establishment. The Committee on Military Affairs was given the Army appropriation bill, which carries the appropriations for the mobile Army.

Mr. HAY. That was done by a ruling of the Chairman in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Oh, no. The gentleman knows that the whole military establishment was never intended to be covered by the Committee on Military Affairs, because the departmental service and everything that properly belongs in the fortification bill go to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. HAY. The rule says that all that pertains to the military establishment shall go to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. FITZGERALD. At the time of the adoption of that rule the purpose was to put into the Committee on Military Affairs the Army appropriation bill, and the rulings have been to the effect that things that pertain to the control of the mobile Army are to be carried in the Army bill. Now, for instance, out of appropriations made in the Army appropriation bill the War Department has been building up a post at Fort Shafter, in the Hawaiian Islands. They have been requesting our Committee on Appropriations for several years past to make specific appropriations to continue that work, and the Committee on Appropriations has declined to do so because the work thus far has been done out of appropriations obtained from the Army bill, and we took the position that appropriations should not be made in two bills for the same work.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Virginia has expired.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the gentleman's time be extended.

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Chairman, that the time of the gentleman from Illinois be extended for five minutes.

Mr. MANN. It was the time of the gentleman from Virginia.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia is recognized for five minutes more.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The truth of the matter is that the War Department so mixed up its estimates that they could not account for \$154,000 which they were short, and they said it was needed, and finally they were given that sum in addition to the amount they estimated. Now it looks as if they had made another mistake.

Mr. HAY. I do not think so. The Quartermaster General of the Army informs me that this is an entirely different proposition from the one appropriated for in the sundry civil bill. I do not agree with the gentleman at all in the statement that it was intended that the Committee on Military Affairs should have only the mobile army. It has not got the mobile army even, because the Committee on Appropriations appropriates for the field artillery of the Regular Army, while the Committee on Military Affairs appropriates for the field artillery of the Organized Militia—a most absurd proposition, which has resulted in times past in duplications of appropriations. I think something ought to be done.

I made the attempt in the Sixty-second Congress to have the rules changed so that one committee or the other should have these appropriations, and so that there should not be an opportunity to have appropriations duplicated and mixed up between two committees, and I shall make an attempt in the next Congress; and so far as I am concerned, it will be much better for the public service for the Committee on Appropriations to take the appropriations from the Committee on Military Affairs entirely or to give us the appropriations entirely—one of the two.



However, that is not relevant to what is before the House, and I will move to reduce the total by the sum of \$116,859, taking that sum from \$1,639,000.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

Mr. HAY. Just make it read "\$1,564,000."

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend, page 37, line 19, by striking out "\$1,639,000" and inserting "\$1,564,000."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Repair and maintenance, military and post roads, bridges, and trails, Alaska: Repair and maintenance of military and post roads, bridges, and trails, Territory of Alaska, \$125,000.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I should like to make a simple inquiry. Have we now reached the point in Alaska where the repair and maintenance of the roads cost \$125,000 a year? That is the amount which heretofore we have carried for the construction, repair, and maintenance of roads in Alaska.

Mr. HAY. It ought to include construction now, and I will offer that amendment. I do not know why the word was left out.

Mr. Chairman, in line 23, before the word "repair," I move to insert the word "construction."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend, on page 37, in line 23, by inserting before the word "repair" the word "construction."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HAY. And in line 24, before the word "repair," insert the word "construction."

Mr. MANN. "For the construction."

Mr. HAY. "For the construction."

Mr. MANN. That is the way it is now.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from Virginia.

The Clerk read as follows:

In line 24, before the word "repair," insert the words "for the construction."

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Barracks and quarters, Philippine Islands: Continuing the work of providing for the proper shelter and protection of officers and enlisted men of the Army of the United States lawfully on duty in the Philippine Islands, including repairs and payment of rents, the acquisition of title to building sites, and such additions to existing military reservations as may be necessary, and including also shelter for the animals and supplies, and all other buildings necessary for post administration purposes, \$400,000: *Provided*, That no part of said sum shall be expended for the construction of quarters for officers of the Army the total cost of which, including the heating and plumbing apparatus, wiring and fixtures, shall exceed in the case of quarters of a general officer the sum of \$8,000; of a colonel or officer above the rank of captain, \$6,000; and of an officer of and below the rank of captain, \$4,000; \$400,000.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. The figures "\$400,000," in line 16, should be stricken out. The appropriation is carried in the amount in line 9, and that is apparently an error.

Mr. HAY. Yes; that is a printing error. I move to strike out the figures "\$400,000," in line 16, on page 38.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from Virginia.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 38, in line 16, strike out "\$400,000."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Carolina. Mr. Chairman, I want to ask the gentleman in charge of the bill is this \$400,000 an annual appropriation?

Mr. HAY. No; it is not an annual appropriation. It has been made, though.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Carolina. How much money have we expended for these purposes?

Mr. HAY. That is something I could not tell the gentleman without making a calculation. We have made expenditures of this kind during the last 15 years. I have not the amount at my fingers' ends.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Carolina. As these expenditures have been going on for the last 15 or 16 years, it seemed to me that the natural inquiry would be, when the department came before the committee asking for \$400,000 for the next fiscal year, to ask them how much they had already spent in that way, and how many more buildings they need, in order to see whether they ought to be provided.

Mr. HAY. This is not altogether for the construction of buildings. Very little of it is for the construction of buildings. Most of it is for repairs and the payment of rent, and things of that sort.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Carolina. I see they are still buying sites.

Mr. HAY. They do not propose to buy any sites. However, if the gentleman wants a full statement of how this \$400,000 is proposed to be expended, I can give that to the gentleman.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Carolina. I am not so much concerned about that as I am to know how much we have already expended and when expenditures of this kind will cease.

Mr. HAY. All I can say to the gentleman is that I have not before me the figures, and the gentleman can get them just as quickly as I can. If the gentleman wants to know how this money is to be expended, I shall be very glad to give him that information.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Carolina. How much is to be spent in building officers' quarters? That is all I am concerned about.

Mr. HAY. They do not propose to build any officers' quarters with any of this money.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Carolina. Then, that limitation is brought forward from some previous bill.

Mr. HAY. Yes. That is always put in.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Carolina. Let me ask the gentleman another question, not concerning this particular item. In his remarks yesterday afternoon he spoke of the Secretary of War saying that 15,000 troops were needed in the Hawaiian Islands. Why are so many more troops needed in the Hawaiian Islands than are needed in the Philippine Islands, and what are they doing there?

Mr. HAY. That is the number of troops that the Secretary of War thinks ought to be there and that he intends to order to the Hawaiian Islands.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Carolina. What are they needed there for?

Mr. HAY. I understand they are needed there to occupy the Army post in the Hawaiian Islands, upon the theory that the Hawaiian Islands are our outpost in the Pacific and that if any foe in the Orient attacks us we must be thoroughly prepared and fortified in the Hawaiian Islands.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Carolina. Is the probability of our being attacked in Hawaii twice as great as that we would be attacked in the Philippine Islands? They seem to want twice as many troops there.

Mr. HAY. I do not think so. Personally I do not think they ought to have that many troops there, but of course the President, through the Secretary of War, can order the Army anywhere he pleases.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Carolina. How many troops are there now?

Mr. HAY. There are now in Hawaii 7,351 men.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Carolina. Does the gentleman think that is a sufficient number?

Mr. HAY. I think so; but the War Department does not agree with me.

Mr. ESCH. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. HAY. Yes.

Mr. ESCH. What is the significance of the word "lawfully," in line 4?

Mr. HAY. I presume it means what it says—lawfully on duty.

Mr. ESCH. Are we to presume that there are officers and enlisted men in the islands unlawfully?

Mr. HAY. Not that I know of. I can tell the gentleman how that word got into the bill. The first time there was an appropriation for barracks and quarters in the Philippine Islands a point of order was made against the appropriation, and Mr. Cannon, who was then chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, drew this provision as it now reads, and it has remained in the law ever since.

Mr. ESCH. Is there any necessity for it, in the opinion of the gentleman?

Mr. HAY. I think so; because when the word "lawfully" was first put into the bill it helped to make the paragraph in order. It provided for troops that were lawfully there, troops that were ordered there by the President of the United States, and that was the reason the word was put in there, in order to get around the point of order. I remember the discussion at the time very well.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Clothing, and camp and garrison equipage: For cloth, woollens, materials, and for the purchase and manufacture of clothing for the Army,



for issue and for sale at cost price according to the Army Regulations; for payment for clothing not drawn due to enlisted men on discharge; for altering and fitting clothing and washing and cleaning when necessary; for equipage, including authorized issues of toilet articles, barbers' and tailors' materials, for use of general prisoners confined at military posts without pay or allowances and applicants for enlistment while held under observation; issue of toilet kits to recruits upon their first enlistment, and issue of housewives to the Army; for expenses of packing and handling and similar necessities; for a suit of citizen's outer clothing, to cost not exceeding \$10, to be issued upon release from confinement to each prisoner who has been confined under a court-martial sentence involving dishonorable discharge; for indemnity to officers and men of the Army for clothing and bedding, etc., destroyed since April 22, 1898, by order of medical officers of the Army for sanitary reasons, \$6,624,000: *Provided*, That hereafter whenever contracts which are not to be performed within 60 days are made on behalf of the Government by the Quartermaster General, or by officers of the Quartermaster Corps authorized to make them, and are in excess of \$500 in amount, such contracts should be reduced to writing and signed by the contracting parties with their names at the end thereof. In all other cases contracts shall be entered into under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Quartermaster General: *Provided further*, That all the money hereinbefore appropriated under the titles Subsistence of the Army, Regular Supplies—Quartermaster Corps, Incidental Expenses—Quartermaster Corps, Transportation of the Army and its Supplies, Water and Sewers at Military Posts, and Clothing and Camp and Garrison Equipage shall be disbursed and accounted for by officers and agents of the Quartermaster Corps as "Supplies, Services, and Transportation, Quartermaster Corps," and for that purpose shall constitute one fund: *Provided further*, That hereafter funds appropriated for support of the Army may be used for the procurement of supplies to be held in store for issue to the Army during subsequent fiscal years: *Provided further*, That articles of serviceable quartermaster property may be sold by the Quartermaster General of the Army to officers of the Navy and Marine Corps, for their use in the public service, in the same manner as these articles are now sold to officers of the Army.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order.

Mr. MANN. I wanted to suggest a grammatical amendment.

Mr. FOSTER. And I want to inquire about the proviso on page 40, that hereafter funds appropriated for the support of the Army shall be used for the procurement of supplies to be held in store for issue to the Army during subsequent fiscal years.

Mr. HAY. The purpose of this, Mr. Chairman, is to reduce the expenses and to provide, as it is in the pay of the Army, that all of it shall be in one fund. Thinking that this would meet the approval of the House, the committee reduced the various items incorporated here about 4 per cent. The Quartermaster General pointed out that within the last 10 years, I think, there had been turned back into the Treasury from the saving of each one of these items at least 4.1 per cent, so that instead of making the items as large as they were we could reduce it by 4 per cent. There is a very full explanation in the hearings and also in the report on the bill.

The report says:

Gen. ALESHIRE. The first proviso suggests legislation for the disbursement of the funds appropriated under the six appropriations enumerated therein as one appropriation, and it is submitted with the view to simplifying the actual disbursement of funds by the Quartermaster Corps and reducing the total of the estimates, and therefore of the amounts to be appropriated by Congress. There has been compiled from the records of the Office of the Quartermaster General data showing amounts appropriated on regular estimates and on deficiency estimates covering five fiscal years, 1909 to 1913; the total appropriated and the amounts turned into the surplus fund of the Treasury at the end of each of the fiscal years referred to. This data has been tabulated and is here inserted in the hearings.

From an examination of this table it will be found, Mr. Chairman, that from the fiscal year 1909 up to and including the fiscal year 1913, five years, there have been turned into the surplus fund of the Treasury from the six appropriations enumerated in the proviso during that period amounts of money that average \$1,665,921.38 a year. That is to say, there was appropriated for 1909, under the appropriation "Subsistence of Army," \$7,673,471.45; "Regular supplies," \$9,300,000; "Incidental expenses," \$2,275,000; "Army transportation," \$11,646,317.46; "Water and sewers," \$2,711,275; "Clothing and equipage," \$7,000,000; making a total of \$40,606,063.91.

Now, of that total amount there was turned into the surplus fund of the Treasury \$1,950,288.30 not having been expended, as it was not required. It will be noted that that amount is about 4.8 per cent of the total amount appropriated under the appropriations referred to.

The same is true for the fiscal years 1910, 1911, and 1912. In 1913 the amount turned in was not so large a percentage; but, as stated before, the average that has been turned in each year was \$1,665,921.38, or about 4.1 per cent of the total of the amounts appropriated.

The total appropriated during these five years was \$198,661,238.31, or an average of \$39,732,246.66 per year.

After a careful study of this subject I believe that if the appropriations I have enumerated were disbursed as a single appropriation, just as is done for the appropriation "Pay of the Army," that the amounts included in the estimate for 1916 under each of the appropriations included in the proviso could be reduced by amounts, respectively, the total of which will approximate \$800,000.

Mr. FOSTER. As I understand, this is for the purchase of supplies that are held in store and then withdrawn and issued, and in buying for all the different purposes they make a saving.

Mr. HAY. Yes; they can do it without creating a deficiency in any one department.

Mr. FOSTER. So that when the item is taken out of the stores it is charged up to that particular department?

Mr. HAY. Yes; it is.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the point of order.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, on page 39, line 17, the word "should" ought to be stricken out and the word "shall" inserted. I think the gentleman will see that the proposition submitted by the War Department is grammatically incorrect.

Mr. HAY. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 39, line 17, strike out the word "should" and insert the word "shall."

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The pro forma amendment is withdrawn, and the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Claims for damages to and loss of private property: For settlement of claims for damages to and loss of private property belonging to citizens of the United States, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands, \$2,928.86.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. What is a citizen of Hawaii?

Mr. HAY. Well, Mr. Chairman, I suppose he is a citizen of the United States; he is a citizen of the Territory of Hawaii.

Mr. KAHN. As I recall, under the organic act creating the Territory, the citizens of this island were declared to be citizens of Hawaii.

Mr. MANN. No; they are citizens of the United States, and they were so declared to be. However, if they want to differentiate themselves, all right. This would not include the citizens of Porto Rico; they are not citizens of the United States, but the Hawaiians are.

Mr. KAHN. The citizens of Porto Rico have filed no claims for damages.

Mr. MANN. These are claims over which the committee had no jurisdiction, but I did not make the point of order.

Mr. KAHN. These are very small damages, in most cases not over three or four dollars.

Mr. HAY. Mainly damages which occurred in target practice.

The Clerk read as follows:

#### MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

Medical and hospital department: For the purchase of medical and hospital supplies, including motor ambulances, their maintenance, repair, and operation, and disinfectants, and the exchange of typewriting machines for military posts, camps, hospitals, hospital ships, and transports; for expenses of medical supply depots; for medical care and treatment not otherwise provided for, including care and subsistence in private hospitals, of officers, enlisted men, and civilian employees of the Army, of applicants for enlistment, and of prisoners of war and other persons in military custody or confinement, when entitled thereto by law, regulation, or contract: *Provided*, That this shall not apply to officers and enlisted men who are treated in private hospitals or by civilian physicians while on furlough; for the proper care and treatment of epidemic and contagious diseases in the Army or at military posts or stations, including measures to prevent the spread thereof, and the payment of reasonable damages not otherwise provided for, for bedding and clothing injured or destroyed in such prevention; for the pay of male and female nurses, not including the Nurse Corps (female), and of cooks and other civilians employed for the proper care of sick officers and soldiers, under such regulations fixing their number, qualifications, assignment, pay, and allowances as shall have been or shall be prescribed by the Secretary of War; for the pay of civilian physicians employed to examine physically applicants for enlistment and enlisted men, and to render other professional services from time to time under proper authority; for the pay of other employees of the Medical Department; for the payment of express companies and local transfers employed directly by the Medical Department for the transportation of medical and hospital supplies, including bidders' samples and water for analysis; for supplies for use in teaching the art of cooking to the Hospital Corps; for the supply of the Army and Navy Hospital at Hot Springs, Ark.; for advertising, laundry, and all other necessary miscellaneous expenses of the Medical Department: *Provided*, That hereafter, with the approval of the Secretary of War and at rates of charge of not less than the contract prices paid therefor plus 25 per cent to cover the cost of purchase, inspection, etc., the Medical Department of the Army may sell for cash to the American National Red Cross or to any surveying or exploring party organized or conducted under the auspices or direction of any State or municipal government, or of any college or society incorporated, established, or instituted for the acquisition of knowledge or the dissemination of learning, in the United States or their insular possessions or dependencies, such medical supplies and equipments as can be spared without detriment to the military service: *Provided further*, That hereafter in the settlement of accounts between the appropriations of the Medical Department and those of any other branch of the Army service, or any bureau or office of the War Department, or any other executive department or establishment of the Government, payment thereof may be made by the proper disbursing officer of the Medical Department or of the branch of the Army service, office, bureau, department, or establishment concerned, \$750,000.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the paragraph. I would like to ask about the proviso beginning at the bottom of page 43. What is the reason for putting in this provision authorizing the medical supplies to be sold to anybody who seeks to call himself "a society for the acquisition of knowledge or the dissemination of learning"?

Mr. HAY. The explanation given by the Surgeon General is that it would be useful to an organization like the Red Cross. That is what brought the question up primarily.



The Yale University applied for the convenience of purchasing a unit from us. They said that in this way they could change the stock and help them to keep it up to date.

Mr. MANN. It is plain that it would have no effect on the change of stock unless they sold large amounts. Is it desirable to have the Government go into the business of buying and selling medical supplies in large amounts? I suppose the medical supplies are delivered here.

Mr. HAY. They have different places to deliver them—one here, one in Chicago, one at San Francisco.

Mr. MANN. They would sell those in South America and Alaska and China, where the Red Cross is operating, where any of these societies chose to go, and the Government would pay the cost of transportation, because all they can charge is 25 per cent over the contract price.

Mr. HAY. I only know that the committee was governed by the apparent good reason given by the Surgeon General. In the hearings he says:

I recommend the enactment of the proviso appearing in the text of the estimates authorizing sales of Army medical equipments to the Red Cross and to exploring or surveying expeditions conducted under State or private auspices. Under existing law such sales can not legally be made; but it seems entirely proper that they should be authorized in view of the benefits inuring to the general public from the operations of the Red Cross and the expeditions referred to. The fieldwork of these enterprises calls for medical outfits of established standards and compact form especially designed for easy transportation under adverse conditions. The Medical Department has established standards for such outfits, and procures them in considerable lots for military use. They are not kept in stock in the regular commercial markets; to make and assemble them requires months; dealers would scarcely be willing to make two or three of them at a time, and practically, therefore, they are procurable by the Red Cross and the surveys only from the Medical Department. The Medical Department could readily furnish a few outfits now and then, if authorized so to do, without any embarrassment whatever under ordinary circumstances, as the proceeds of the sales would become immediately available under the law of June 12, 1906 (34 Stat., 256), to procure new supplies.

Mr. MANN. What class of supplies is the gentleman referring to?

Mr. HAY. To the outfits carried on expeditions in the operations of the Red Cross.

Mr. MANN. I should say that it was much easier to get outfits to go on expeditions from private concerns, which might have them for that particular purpose, than to get them from the Medical Department of the Army.

Mr. HAY. The Medical Department of the Army keeps them on hand.

Mr. MANN. Mountain-climbing supplies, or something of that sort?

Mr. HAY. Oh, no; not mountain-climbing supplies, but supplies used in the medical department for medicinal purposes—not alpenstocks or anything of that sort.

Mr. MANN. I can not understand why the medical department should need medical supplies for the Army which nobody needs in private life.

Mr. HAY. I will say to the gentleman that it seemed to us a good reason was given why these people should be allowed to dispose of these supplies. Of course the proviso is subject to a point of order.

Mr. MANN. Of course we have had a tender solicitude for the Red Cross. I do not know that I should object to that, but when you undertake to say that the Government shall sell supplies to anybody who calls himself an exploring or surveying party organized or conducted under the auspices of a State or municipal Government, or a college or a society incorporated, established, or instituted for the acquisition of knowledge, I think we open the door too wide. Anyone can get into that category.

Mr. HAY. That is true.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANN. Certainly.

Mr. KAHN. As I understand it, the medical department has regular chests containing various supplies that are used by the Army. Say, for instance, in the Philippine Islands a party is out reconnoitering and men are injured. The chest is so prepared and equipped that those men can be taken care of immediately. As I understand it, Yale University has been fitting out an expedition under Prof. Bingham to make discoveries in Peru, in some of the old villages of the Incas, and it was the purpose of the department by this provision to furnish these expeditions with their medical supplies, provided, of course, Congress would give the department the permission to do it. The supplies the medical department of the Army has would probably better suit an expedition of that kind than supplies purchased at random in any shop, and for that reason the department wanted the authority to sell to institutions of learning of that kind that fit out such expeditions.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I have no doubt that these people would like to buy from the Government more cheaply than they can buy some place else, and there may be many cases where it ought to be done. It is easy to pass a law based on some good cause, but what limitation is there here? To permit the purchase of whatever medical supplies could be bought more cheaply under this provision than they can in the open market—and doubtless there are many medical supplies where the profit between the manufacturers and the consumer is more than 25 per cent—would throw it open to have the Government go into that business. Of course, they say they do not want to; but what is the use of enacting legislation to permit them to do it just because there is some case where it might be desirable to do it.

I would like to buy my boots and shoes from the Government; I would like to buy my clothing and my coal from the Government. If I were living in a house and keeping house and could get the same facilities furnished me that the Army officers can, I could buy coal much more cheaply than I could otherwise, and I could buy clothing much more cheaply; but, after all, the Government does not undertake to run all of these things. I make the point of order against the proviso beginning at the bottom of page 43 and running down to and including a part of line 12 on page 44.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, it is subject to a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

The Clerk read as follows:

For the library of the Surgeon General's office, including the purchase of necessary books of reference and periodicals, \$10,000.

Mr. HUMPHREYS of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the chairman of the committee if the committee has given any thought to the suggestion that the name of that library in the Surgeon General's office should be changed?

Mr. HAY. It did not.

Mr. HUMPHREYS of Mississippi. The suggestion was made to the gentleman, I think he will recall.

Mr. HAY. The suggestion was made last year that it should be transferred to the Library of Congress, but that was done by amendment of the Senate. The question was looked into, and the Senate receded.

Mr. HUMPHREYS of Mississippi. Of course everyone who has thought about the matter knows that the Senate made a very grievous error in ordering the transfer. The suggestion was made by distinguished medical men in the United States in civil life that the name of the library in the Surgeon General's office should be changed, because it is not a title that gives any correct idea of the real importance and dignity of that great library. My information is from very distinguished men in the medical profession that this is the greatest medical library on the face of the earth. There is nothing in the world to equal it.

Mr. HAY. That is true.

Mr. HUMPHREYS of Mississippi. And the suggestion has been made that it ought not to be called the library of the Surgeon General's office, but should be called by some other name, such as the National Medical Library, or something of that sort, in order that many who do not appreciate its real significance and its real value may get an accurate idea of its importance and character.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I would be very glad to consider some name if it were suggested, and I think the committee will be very glad to take that up next year.

Mr. HUMPHREYS of Mississippi. It occurs to me that it is very well worth while. I withdraw the pro forma amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Ordnance stores—ammunition: Manufacture of ammunition for small arms for reserve supply, ammunition for burials at the National Soldiers' Home in Washington, D. C., ammunition for firing the morning and evening gun at military posts prescribed by General Orders No. 70, headquarters of the Army, dated July 23, 1867, and at National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers and its several branches, including National Soldiers' Home in Washington, D. C., and soldiers' and sailors' State homes: *Provided*, That not more than \$5,000 of this appropriation may be used in the purchase of ammunition, \$100,000.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 49, line 10, strike out "\$100,000" and insert "\$3,000,000."

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, according to the ideas of the chairman of this committee, as submitted in his table, we have on hand already sufficient reserve rifle ammunition. He said yesterday:

I ask unanimous consent to print a table furnished me by the War Department which corrects a certain error.

I said to him that his table was not the War Department's estimate at all, but the estimate of Gen. Crozier. The fact is



that the War Department's estimate is that we need 513,430,640 rounds of reserve ammunition instead of 196,000,000, as stated by the gentleman. Now, when the chairman said that, yesterday, I went down to the War Department and in person presented a letter of inquiry. Here is the answer from the Secretary of War, under date of January 21, 1915:

JANUARY 21, 1915.

MY DEAR SIR: In a letter of even date you ask me whether "a table published in a newspaper article by Hon. JAMES HAY on Sunday, January 10, and subsequently published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," was furnished by the War Department and is official. In answer thereto I beg to advise you that the said table was not furnished by the War Department and is not official.

I have been informed by the Chief of Ordnance that Mr. HAY requested him to furnish him with some information, that he came to me and secured my consent to his furnishing Mr. HAY with certain information, and he did so. The information gathered by Gen. Crozier and furnished Mr. HAY was not submitted to me, and I did not, therefore, officially pass thereon, nor did anyone else in authority in the department outside of the Chief of Ordnance.

Sincerely, yours,

LINDLEY M. GARRISON,  
Secretary of War.

Now, what are the facts? I wrote letters on the 11th, 12th, and 16th instant to the War Department to find out what the figures as to artillery and ammunition in the plan of the General Staff actually are. I asked to know whether they corresponded with the figures published by the chairman of this committee. Here are two of the questions I asked in my letter of January 16 with regard to Chairman HAY's table:

Does the figure given as to rifle ammunition correspond with the estimates of the General Staff contained in the "Tables of Organization" submitted February 25, 1914?

This document which I hold in my hand is the War Department compilation, entitled "Tables of Organization." It was approved by order of the Secretary of War February 25, 1914. Here is another question which I asked:

According to the "Tables of Organization" above cited, what number of rifles would be required for a field army of 460,000 men and 50,000 Coast Artillery troops, and how much ammunition per rifle ought we to have?

Remember that the estimate published by Chairman HAY was for a field army of 460,000 mobile troops and 50,000 coast artillerymen. According to his table, all the rifle ammunition which we need to accumulate for this army is 196,000,000 rounds. Counting what is being manufactured, we have a good deal more than that amount already on hand. In fact, on hand or being made we have 241,000,000 rounds.

Here is the War Department's answer to my first question:

The ammunition required by this force to begin war, calculated on the basis of table 2, page 7, "Tables of Organization," would be 513,430,640 rounds of rifle ball cartridges.

In other words, Mr. Chairman, we need 270,000,000 more rounds of rifle ammunition than we have provided for, instead of being ahead of the game. Mind you, this figure does not count the ammunition needed for the coast artillerymen if they are used as infantry.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. GARDNER. That means, Mr. Chairman, that we are pretty nearly 300,000,000 cartridges short at the present time. Now, if the committee adopts my amendment for an appropriation of \$3,000,000, we shall be able to pay for the manufacture of over 100,000,000 cartridges. At that rate it will take us less than three years to catch up to where we ought to be.

Mr. MOSS of West Virginia. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. GARDNER. Certainly.

Mr. MOSS of West Virginia. The gentleman's sole amendment is to substitute \$3,000,000 for \$100,000?

Mr. GARDNER. That is right.

Mr. MOSS of West Virginia. But in that same clause there is a provision that not more than \$5,000 of this can be used for ammunition.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. For the purchase of ammunition.

Mr. GARDNER. For the purchase of ammunition; exactly.

Mr. MOSS of West Virginia. Will the gentleman please explain that provision?

Mr. GARDNER. It is inserted because Congress desires the Government to make its rifle ammunition in its own factories. My amendment does not interfere with that.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. GARDNER. Certainly.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Is it not true that up to about 1909 we were appropriating \$1,200,000 a year for this reserve supply of ammunition, and if the deficiency from that sum were taken from the years since then that the gentleman's \$3,000,000 would be less than the amount that would have been appropriated during that time?

Mr. GARDNER. I do not know. I think the gentleman was on the committee at that time.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Not since then.

Mr. GARDNER. Here is the evidence that the chairman's table is wrong. The fact is, we are pretty nearly 300,000,000 rounds short. If you adopt that amendment which I have offered, you will have 100,000,000 more cartridges at the end of the next fiscal year and we shall catch up with the whole of it in less than three years. This bill as it stands practically puts an end to the accumulation of more rifle ammunition. That will substantially be the result if the bill becomes law in its present shape. In my opinion, Mr. Chairman, the committee acted under an entire misapprehension of the facts.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD this entire correspondence with the Secretary of War without reading it.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by inserting the matter indicated. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The correspondence referred to is as follows:

CONGRESSMAN GARDNER TO SECRETARY GARRISON.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D. C., January 12, 1915.

Hon. L. M. GARRISON,  
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Will you be so kind as to give me the following material:

(1) A copy of the findings of the board convened under your instructions by an order issued December 16, 1914. The board to which I refer was convened for the purpose of considering possible changes in our coast defenses and their armament.

(2) A copy of the recommendations as to matériel for a mobile army of approximately 460,000 men, worked out by the General Staff and tentatively approved by the War Department.

(3) How much artillery ammunition did the General Staff recommend as the proper amount to be accumulated prior to the breaking out of a war and what was the size of the estimated army to be equipped?

(4) How much, if any, ammunition have we for our seacoast defenses besides the amounts mentioned on page 6 of the Report of the Chief of Staff United States Army, 1914? Do the figures of the Chief of Staff refer exclusively to "reserve" ammunition or is there a substantial amount of Coast Artillery ammunition on hand in the United States proper besides the "reserve"?

(5) I quote from Assistant Secretary Roosevelt's testimony before the Committee on Naval Affairs, page 978: "In the case of mines the Navy's opinion is that the Army has not gone far enough in the development of harbor mines." How many harbor mines have we?

(6) I again inquire whether it would be necessary to abandon the Crozier disappearing gun carriage in case it were desired to remount the 12-inch guns so as to secure a range of 20,000 yards?

Very respectfully,

A. P. GARDNER.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D. C., January 11, 1915.

Hon. L. M. GARRISON.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I append a table which appeared in yesterday's Sunday Star in an article written by Hon. JAMES HAY, chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives.

Memorandum of the state of preparation, in the principal items of fighting material, of the United States Army for entering upon a war that would require the equipment of an army of about 460,000 mobile troops and 50,000 Coast Artillery troops.

	On hand.	Additional provided for by appropriation	Total provided for.	Total in project.	Required to complete project.
Rifles.....	1,037,000	36,749	1,073,749	600,000	.....
Pistols and revolvers....	145,579	31,271	176,850	172,378	97,020
Sabers.....	68,763	5,000	73,763	41,006	11,006
Ball cartridges, caliber .30, models of 1906 and 1898.....	196,000,000	45,000,000	241,000,000	196,000,000	.....
Pistol and revolver cartridges.....	31,196,227	11,500,000	42,696,227	31,942,600	.....
Personal equipments (sets).....	476,161	27,839	504,000	504,000	.....
Horse equipments (sets).....	55,122	3,200	58,322	94,349	39,227
Machine guns.....	1,236	66	1,302	1,633	331
Field batteries complete, 4 guns each....	169	46	215	325	110
Ammunition trains.....	.....	3	3	63	60
Harness, wheel (sets)....	2,308	527	3,335	7,500	4,165
Harness, lead (sets)....	5,412	1,071	6,483	16,000	9,517
Ammunition for Field Artillery, rounds.....	177,800	402,200	580,000	1,137,000	557,000



I am anxious to know how this table compares with the plan prepared by the General Staff, to which reference has often been made in the hearings before the Committee on Military Affairs. I ask this information as to following items only: Cartridges, field batteries, Field Artillery ammunition.

Please inform me as to whether the plan of the General Staff was worked out before or after the breaking out of the European war.

If I can not have the whole of this information, I should like, at least, to have a part of it.

Very truly, yours,

A. P. GARDNER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 16, 1915.

The honorable THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I invite your attention to an article by Hon. JAMES HAY which appeared on January 10, 1915, in sundry newspapers.

In the course of this article Mr. HAY presents a table showing the state of preparation of the United States Army for entering upon a war. The fourth column of this table is headed "Total in project." It purports to give figures showing the amount of munitions of war requisite for the various items in the equipment of a field army of about 460,000 men and 50,000 Coast Artillery troops.

In find in column No. 4 that a supply of rifle cartridges to the extent of 196,000,000 is stated to be the total amount of rifle ammunition required in the project. Furthermore, in the same column I find that the ammunition required for Field Artillery is stated to be 1,137,000 rounds.

Would you be kind enough to answer the following questions?

1. Whose is this project, and when was it prepared?  
2. Does the figure given as to rifle ammunition correspond with the estimates of the General Staff contained in the "Tables of organization" submitted February 25, 1914?

3. According to the "Tables of organization" above cited, what number of rifles would be required for a field army of 460,000 men and 50,000 Coast Artillery troops, and how much ammunition per rifle ought we to have?

4. Does the figure for ammunition for Field Artillery given above correspond with the figure given in the report of the so-called "Greble board" in 1911, and does it correspond to the figures in "Tables of organization" above cited?

If not, please state what the difference is.

Very respectfully,

A. P. GARDNER.

SECRETARY GARRISON TO CONGRESSMAN GARDNER.

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
Washington, January 21, 1915.

Hon. A. P. GARDNER,  
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR SIR: In a letter of even date you ask me whether "a table published in a newspaper article by Hon. JAMES HAY, on Sunday, January 10, and subsequently published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," was furnished by the War Department and is official. In answer thereto I beg to advise you that the said table was not furnished by the War Department and is not official.

I have been informed by the Chief of Ordnance that Mr. HAY requested him to furnish him with some information; that he came to me and secured my consent to his furnishing Mr. HAY with certain information, and he did so. The information gathered by Gen. Crozier and furnished Mr. HAY was not submitted to me, and I did not, therefore, officially pass thereon; nor did anyone else in authority in the department outside of the Chief of Ordnance.

Sincerely, yours,

LINDLEY M. GARRISON,  
Secretary of War.

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
Washington, January —, 1915.

Hon. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER,  
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. GARDNER: In answer to the inquiries in your letters of the 11th, 12th, and 16th instant, you are informed:

Herewith is a copy of a list of supplies of all kinds necessary to place in the field a division at full war strength and maintain it in the field for one year, worked out by the General Staff shortly before January 6, 1911. On January 14, 1911, the secretary of the General Staff furnished chiefs of bureau copies of these recommendations that pertained to their respective departments, stating:

"The War College Division of the General Staff has prepared the following list of supplies—of each supply department—necessary to place in the field a division at full war strength and to maintain it in the field one year.

"The Chief of Staff desires you to revise this list with a view to showing the articles for one division which, in your opinion, should be stored in depots for distribution to the national forces on mobilization."

The Report on the Organization of the Land Forces of the United States, page 62, states:

"It is estimated that at the outbreak of war with a first-class power we should be capable of mobilizing at once in the United States an effective force of 460,000 mobile troops and 42,000 Coast Artillery."

On August 10, 1912, the Secretary of War indorsed the Report on the Organization of the Land Forces of the United States as follows:

"The accompanying report of the General Staff on 'The Organization of the Land Forces of the United States' contains the broad outlines of a comprehensive military policy. The General Staff has been directed to proceed with a detailed study of the plan with a view of securing specific recommendations for the executive and legislative action necessary to carry the policy into effect. During the progress of this work comments and suggestions with the view of perfecting the policy are invited, and for this purpose the report is published for the consideration of the Army, the National Guard, and all others who are interested in the development of a sound military policy for the Nation."

From the attached list of supplies for one division—about 20,000 men—and the above-mentioned estimate in the published report on the organization of the land forces for 460,000 mobile troops—about 23 divisions—it is calculated that approximately twenty-three times the quantity of supplies given in the attached list for one division would be needed to put 460,000 mobile troops in the field.

On February 20, 1911, a board of officers, of which Lieut. Col. Edwin St. J. Greble, General Staff, was president, and Capt. Fox Conner, General Staff, was recorder, was appointed by order of the Secretary

of war "to consider questions concerning the types of field guns and ammunition supply therefor." This board is referred to as the Greble Board. In the report of this board appear the following:

By the secretary of the General Staff, June 23, 1911:

"The Secretary of War, having approved the accompanying report of the board of officers convened in Washington to consider questions concerning the types of field guns and ammunition supply therefor, directs that policy outlined in this report be adopted by the General Staff."

By the Acting Chief of Staff, July 14, 1911:

"The Secretary of War directs that the accompanying report of the board of officers on types of field guns and ammunition supply therefor be referred to the Chief of Ordnance, the Quartermaster General, and the Chief Signal Officer for notation, and then filed in The Adjutant General's Office."

The report of the Greble Board contains the following:

"On February 4, 1911, the Chief of Staff approved a memorandum to the effect that in case of war with a first-class power it would be necessary for the United States to raise at once a mobile force of approximately 450,000 men within the continental limits of the United States. \* \* \* Recommended that the number of guns below be procured in time of peace: \* \* \* total batteries, 323; \* \* \* total guns, 1,292 \* \* \*"

The total number of rounds of ammunition for these guns which, in different parts of the report, it is stated should be provided in peace is 1,713,240, and it is further stated in the report: "It is to be noted that the ammunition here provided for is simply that which should be on hand at the outbreak of war and is in no sense a complete supply for war."

The following is contained in the order publishing Tables of Organization, February 25, 1914:

"The following Tables of Organization, prepared by the General Staff of the Army, are approved and published for the information and government of the Regular Army and the Organized Militia of the United States. \* \* \*"

It is calculated from table 2, pages 19 and 21; table 2-B, page 23; and tables 3-A, B, pages 31-33, inclusive, Tables of Organization, that about 460,000 mobile troops, organized on the basis outlined on page 63—report on the organization of the land forces—would need to begin war about 335,139 rifles, 166,814 pistols, and 820 machine guns. The ammunition required by this force to begin war, calculated on the basis of table 2, page 7, Tables of Organization, would be 513,430,640 rounds of rifle ball cartridges, and 37,597,952 rounds of pistol ball cartridges.

If 50,000 Coast Artillery troops were equipped as Infantry, with rifles and pistols and ammunition therefor, which is not provided for in Tables of Organization, they would, on the same basis of calculation, require about 47,649 rifles, 5,348 pistols, 64,802,640 rounds rifle ball cartridges, 1,347,696 rounds pistol ball cartridges.

According to table 2, page 7, Tables of Organization, at the beginning of war each rifle used by the Infantry requires 1,360 rounds of rifle ball cartridges, each rifle used by the Cavalry 1,080 rounds of rifle ball cartridges, each rifle used by Engineers 320 rounds, and each machine gun 85,600 rounds. According to this table, the ammunition for each class of troops is distributed as follows: One-fourth with organizations, one-fourth at or near advance depots, one-half at or near the base. According to table 2-B, page 7, Tables of Organization, Field Artillery ammunition is similarly distributed. The Tables of Organization are consistent with the recommendations of the Greble Board.

#### Arms and ammunition reported on hand Jan. 1, 1915.

Rifles, caliber .30, model 1898	349,098
Rifles, caliber .30, model 1903	703,976
United States magazine carbines, model 1898	34,374
Automatic pistols, caliber .45, model 1911	84,127
Revolvers, caliber .38	57,072
Revolvers, caliber .45	21,707

#### Rounds.

Rifle ball cartridges, caliber .30, model 1906	208,077,396
Rifle ball cartridges, caliber .30, model 1898	36,112,813
Pistol ball cartridges, caliber .45	10,316,638
Revolver ball cartridges, caliber .38	8,918,192
Revolver ball cartridges, caliber .45	3,799,679

#### Field batteries:

- 20 batteries of 2.95-inch mountain guns (obsolescent).
- 1 battery of 3-inch mountain guns.
- 126 batteries of 3-inch guns.
- 2 batteries of 3.8-inch field guns.
- 2 batteries of 3.8-inch field howitzers.
- 91 batteries of 4.7-inch field howitzers.
- 91 batteries of 4.7-inch field guns.
- 8 batteries of 6-inch field howitzers.

#### Field artillery ammunition:

- 2.95-inch mountain gun (obsolescent), 51,800 rounds.
- 3-inch mountain howitzer, 3,798 rounds.
- 3-inch field gun, 170,431 rounds.
- 3.8-inch field gun, 1,582 rounds.
- 3.8-inch field howitzer, 10,240 rounds.
- 4.7-inch field gun, 10,568 rounds.
- 4.7-inch field howitzer, 15,075 rounds.
- 6-inch field howitzer, 12,408 rounds.

In the table of figures contained in the newspaper article to which you refer the column headed "Total in project" contains figures some of which are identical with those recommended by official boards. Others are those estimated by the Chief of Ordnance. The estimate for 196,000,000 ball cartridges, caliber .30, was made by the Chief of Ordnance. I understand that all the figures in the table referred to were transmitted by the Chief of Ordnance on October 21 last, in response to a request made direct to him.

The figures in this table do not correspond with those stated above. The difference between the 1,713,240 rounds of Field Artillery ammunition called for by the Greble Board and the 1,137,000 rounds appearing in the newspaper article you refer to is stated by the Chief of Ordnance to be a clerical error.

There are on hand a total of 5,071 mine cases. The total number of mines that can be planted with material now on hand is 3,725; the principal deficiencies in material which prevents the planting of the remaining mine cases is the shortage in cable.

Except for a small amount of target-practice ammunition, approximately sufficient for one year's expenditure by the regular service, there is no ammunition for our seacoast defenses besides the amount men-



tioned on page 6 of the Report of the Chief of Staff, 1914. The figures of the Chief of Staff refer exclusively to reserve ammunition. The target-practice ammunition referred to is not suitable for war purposes except in the preliminary training of troops.

In answer to your inquiry as to whether it would be necessary to abandon the Crozier disappearing gun carriage in case it were desired to remount the 12-inch gun so as to secure a range of 20,000 yards, the Chief of Ordnance states:

"In reference to the extreme ranges of 12-inch gun, firings made with the lighter weight projectile recently adopted indicate that a maximum range of 19,500 yards can be secured with the older model of 12-inch gun mounted on barbette carriages, and on those disappearing carriages, after contemplated alterations, for which an angle of depression below 5° is not required by the conditions of the site. For the latest type of 12-inch guns, of which there are 11 on hand or mounted in fortifications, a maximum range of approximately 22,000 yards can be secured under similar conditions of mounting."

The findings of the board appointed December 10, 1914, for the purpose of considering the question of coast defenses and their armament, are confidential in their nature. The copy requested is, therefore, not inclosed.

Very sincerely,

LINDLEY M. GARRISON,  
Secretary of War.

List of supplies of all kinds necessary to place in the field a division at full war strength and maintain it in the field for one year, worked out by the General Staff shortly before January 6, 1911:

Articles.	Number necessary to place division in the field.	Per cent to be added to keep division in field for one year.	Remarks.
<b>QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT.</b>			
Ambulances, complete.....	48	10	Includes supplies except the medical.
Anvils.....	2	10	
Apajeros.....	50	10	
Axes, with helms.....	1,028	25	
Bags, barrack.....	4,532	100	
Basins, canvas.....	488	100	
Batons.....	9	10	
Bedding roll, officers.....	750	100	
Belts, color, olive drab.....	20	50	
Blankets, woolen, light weight.....	19,854	100	
Blinds for pack mules.....	10	10	
Boilers, G. I., with lid.....	96	50	
Bolts, king.....	48	100	
Bolts and nuts, ambulance, sets.....	48	300	
Bolts and nuts, field wagon, sets.....	717	300	
Brassards.....	978	300	
Breeches, service, mounted.....	4,764	300	
Breeches, service, foot.....	14,511	300	
Bridles, complete.....	80	40	
Brooms, corn, for use in mobilization camps.....	1,078	300	
Brooms, stable, for permanent camp.....	324	200	
Brushes, horse.....	767	40	
Brushes, scrub, for use in mobilization camps.....	767	300	
Buckets, canvas.....	488	100	
Buckets, G. I.....	980	100	
Bugles and slings.....	249	40	
Cans, garbage, for use in permanent camp.....	1,168	100	
Caps, canvas, blanket lined.....	19,859	10	
Cases, color or standard.....	61	100	
Cases, farriers.....	65	10	
Chairs, folding.....	750	25	
Chevrans, overcoat, pairs.....	4,772	100	
Chevrans for service uniform.....	4,772	200	
Clothing roll, officers.....	750	20	
Coats, service.....	19,283	100	
Colors, camp, with staff.....	139	50	
Colors or standards, silk, with staff, National and regimental sets.....	13	20	
Colors, National, service, with staff.....	35	20	
Cords, hat, for enlisted men.....	18,533	200	
Cots.....	19,854	20	
Covers, mule, blanket lined, for permanent camp.....	3,700	10	
Curry-combs.....	767	40	
Desks, field.....	211	10	But twice cubical space for 1 year's supply stationery contained therein.
Doubletrees, extra.....	701	100	
Drawers.....	57,849	200	
Flags, red, bunting, and staff.....	192	50	
Flags, Red Cross, with 50-foot halliards.....	4	50	
Flags, post, with halliards.....	5	50	
Flags, storm, with 50-foot halliards.....	21	50	
Forge, field, complete, Quartermaster Department.....	2	10	
Forks, stable, for use in mobilization camp.....	268	25	
Gauntlets, leather, pairs.....	4,764	200	
Globes, lantern.....	1,154	400	
Gloves, white, wool.....	19,854	100	

Articles.	Number necessary to place division in the field.	Per cent to be added to keep division in field for one year.	Remarks.
<b>QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT—continued.</b>			
Grain, for horses and mules, pounds.....	88,162	.....	Amount shown is 1 day's allowance.
Grates, fire, iron.....	96	25	
Grease, axle, cases.....	1,530	600	
Guidons, ambulance, on lance staff.....	84	50	
Guidons, service, and staff.....	30	100	
Guidons, silk, and staff.....	30	50	
Grindstones and fixtures, for permanent camp.....	14	10	
Halters, with straps.....	3,701	50	
Hames, extra.....	1,502	100	
Handcuffs.....	92	10	
Harness, wheel and lead, sets, double, ambulance, 779 each.....	1,558	20	
Hatchets, with helms, for ambulance.....	48	50	
Hatchets, with helms, for use in permanent camp.....	1,880	25	
Hats, service.....	19,283	150	
Hay, for public animals, pounds.....	11,579	.....	Amount shown is 1 day's supply.
Helms, ax.....	166	200	
Horses, draft.....	1,400	100	
Horses, riding.....	3,171	100	
Incinerators, seats required, sink equipment, for use in permanent camp.....	1,590	10	
Instruments, band, sets.....	12	10	
Jacks, wagon.....	36	10	
Kettles, camp.....	8	10	
Kit bags, surplus.....	1,411	10	
Lampblack, permanent camp.....	52	200	
Lamps, ambulance.....	96	20	
Lanterns, combination.....	1,493	50	
Lanterns, green and white, ambulance.....	96	20	
Lanterns, for field wagon.....	703	20	
Lanterns, red, for ammunition wagons.....	192	25	
Leggings, canvas.....	15,093	200	
Leggings, russet leather.....	4,190	200	
Lime, sink equipment, for permanent camp, barrels.....	21½	600	
Links, open.....	2,157	400	
Lumber, 12" x 1" x 18' b. m., for permanent camp, feet.....	27,000	100	
Marking pots and brushes, permanent camp.....	52	20	
Marking stamps, for permanent camp.....	201	10	
Mosquito bars, for permanent camp.....	19,858	100	
Mosquito head nets.....	19,858	100	
Mules, pack, riding and draft.....	3,700	100	
Nails, 6d, for permanent camp, pounds.....	400	100	
Nails, 10d, for permanent camp, pounds.....	1,320	100	
Nails, horseshoe, pounds.....	6,659	1,000	
Nuts, axle, extra, for field wagons.....	1,406	100	
Nuts, axle, extra, for ambulance.....	96	100	
Orderless excavators, sink equipment, for use in permanent camp.....	13	10	
Oil, mineral, gallons per day, on field service and permanent camp.....	144½	.....	Allowance for 1 day.
Oil, neatfoot, gallons.....	389½	1,200	
Ornaments, collar, sets.....	18,533	300	
Overcoats.....	19,283	5	
Overshoes, arctic.....	19,283	5	
Pads, saddle.....	80	40	
Pannier, veterinary.....	37	40	
Pans, mess.....	8	50	
Paulins, including permanent camp.....	38	20	
Pickaxes.....	735	50	
Poles, extra, ambulance and field wagon.....	729	200	
Ponchos.....	15,012	25	
Pouches, music, olive drab.....	336	20	
Pump and tank, excreta, for use in camp.....	13	10	
Rakes, steel for permanent camp.....	715	50	
Reach, extra, field wagon.....	703	100	
Rope, one-half inch, in lengths of 150 feet.....	703	150	
Saddles, riding, complete, quartermaster.....	80	10	
Scoops, sink equipment, permanent camp.....	229	10	
Shirts, olive drab.....	19,283	200	
Shirts, under.....	57,849	150	
Shoes, horse.....	25,426	1,000	
Shoes, mule.....	29,200	1,000	
Shoes, russet leather.....	38,566	200	
Shovels, long handle.....	29	100	



Articles.	Number necessary to place division in the field.	Per cent to be added to keep division in field for one year.	Remarks.
<b>QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT—continued.</b>			
Singletrees, extra.....	1,402	100	
Slickers.....	4,834	20	
Slings, color olive drab.....	20	50	
Soap, harness, pounds.....	3,116	500	
Spades.....	968	100	
Sponges.....	719	200	
Sterilizer, Forbs.....	187	200	
Stockings.....	77,132	200	
Stoves, tent.....	3,475	10	
Stovepipe, lengths.....	24,325	25	
Straps, hame, extra.....	2,253	200	
Straw for animals, pounds.....	27,572	200	One day's supply.
Strings, hame, extra.....	2,109	200	
Tag, identification.....	19,854	25	
Tacks, water.....	96	10	
Tape for identification tags, lengths.....	19,854	300	
Tape, measuring, steel.....	36	10	
Tents, common, with poles and pins, for use in permanent camp.....	173	100	
Tents, storage, with poles and pins, for permanent camp.....	2,589	100	
Tents, conical wall, complete, with poles and pins, for permanent camp.....	2,589	100	
Tents, hospital, with poles and pins, complete.....	165	100	Pins, 200.
Tents, hospital, with poles and pins, complete, for permanent camp.....	190	100	Pins, 300.
Tents, shelter halves, with poles and pins, complete.....	20,604	200	
Tents, wall, complete, with poles, complete.....	417	100	Pins, 200.
Tents, wall, complete, with poles and pins, for permanent camp.....	748	100	
Tools, blacksmiths' and farriers', sets.....	37	10	For contents, see paragraph 927, Manual Quartermaster's Department, 1904.
Tools, saddlers', sets, Quartermaster's Department.....	37	10	For contents, see paragraph 529, Manual Quartermaster's Department, 1904.
Tools, wheelwrights', and carpenters', sets.....	27	10	For contents, see paragraph 728, Manual Quartermaster's Department.
Troughs for sink equipment, permanent camp.....	496	10	
Trumpets, with trumpet cords and tassels.....	60	40	
Twine, balls.....	753	600	
Typewriting machines.....	52	10	
Veterinary supplies, Quartermaster's Department.....	18,271	300	A sufficient supply of medicines to last the number of animals noted for 3 months, and the necessary instruments, dressings, etc.
Wagons, field, complete.....	701	20	
Wagons, spring.....	4	20	
Whips, complete.....	767	100	
Whistles, with chain.....	1,587	20	
Wicks, lantern.....	490	600	
Wicks, lantern, for permanent camp.....	1,003	600	
Wood, cords, for one day camp.....	116.30	1 day's supply.	
Wrenches, wagon.....	705	20	
Wrenches, monkey.....	48	25	
<b>SUBSISTENCE DEPARTMENT.</b>			
Blocks, meat, permanent camp.....	17	10	
Brushes, tooth.....	19,854	100	
Chests, commissary, and their equipment of tools, etc.....	17	10	
Combs, hair.....	19,859	100	
Desks, field.....	17	10	But twice cubical space for 1 year's supply stationery contained therein.
Housewives.....	7,161	10	
Kits, war, blank.....	9	10	
Ranges, field, No. 1.....	185	25	
Ranges, field, No. 2.....	70	50	
Rations.....	19,854	For 1 day.	
Safes, field.....	17	10	
Scales, platform, folding.....	17	10	
Soap, toilet.....	19,854	1,200	
Tobacco, chewing.....	312.39	1 day's supply.	
Tobacco, smoking.....	1,230.87	Do.	
Towels.....	19,854	600	
Wagons, bakery, complete.....	14	20	
<b>ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.</b>			
Ammunition, revolver, caliber .45, rounds.....	347,960	200	

<sup>1</sup>Animals.

Articles.	Number necessary to place division in the field.	Per cent to be added to keep division in field for one year.	Remarks.
<b>ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT—continued.</b>			
Ammunition, rifle, caliber .30, rounds.....	5,386,950	400	
Axes, hand, with carrier.....	678	25	
Bags, nose.....	4,571	100	
Bags, saddle.....	3,859	40	
Battery wagons for 3-inch Field Artillery, with spare parts, accessories and tools.....	12	12	Pages 124, 128, 129, and 132, Handbook 3-inch Field Artillery material, 1908.
Bayonets.....	12,171	25	
Belts, cartridge, rifle, mounted, caliber .30.....	2,029	50	
Belts and fasteners, revolver, cartridge, caliber .45.....	3,070	50	
Belts, cartridge, rifle, caliber .30.....	12,148	50	
Belts, rifle cartridge, caliber .30, with fasteners and loop for saber attachment.....	1,042	50	
Belts, waist.....	877	20	
Blankets, saddle.....	4,469	40	
Bolos and scabbards.....	1,715	50	
Boxes, bacon.....	129	20	
Boxes, condiment.....	129	20	
Bridles, complete.....	3,069	40	
Bridles, watering.....	3,322	40	
Brushes, horse.....	3,769	40	
Caissons, field, 3-inch, complete, including spare parts and accessories.....	144	144	Pages 124, 127, and 128, Handbook, 3-inch Field Artillery material, 1908.
Cans, bacon.....	14,508	200	
Cans, condiment.....	14,508	200	
Cans, meat.....	19,854	150	
Canteens.....	19,283	100	
Canteen covers, Infantry.....	13,907	100	
Canteen covers, Infantry, mounted.....	601	100	
Carriers, pack.....	13,868	40	
Carts, reel, complete.....	6	10	
Chests, artificers, complete.....	129	10	
Cleaning and preserving material, sets, Infantry, Cavalry, etc.....	26	100	Page 630, Ordnance Supply Manual, 1904.
Cleaning and preserving material sets, Artillery.....	12	100	Page 134, Handbook, 3-inch Field Artillery Material, 1908.
Cloths, saddle, service.....	420	20	
Covers, horse, for permanent camp.....	4,571	10	
Cups, tin.....	19,854	150	
Currycombs.....	3,769	40	
Die, steel, for stamping identification tags.....	181	10	
Dispatch cases.....	149	10	
Forges, portable, complete, Ordnance Department.....	22	10	
Forks.....	19,854	150	
Guns, 3-inch field, and carriage, including spare parts and accessories.....	48	48	Pp. 124 to 126, Handbook 3-inch Field Artillery Manual, 1908.
Gun slings.....	13,571	50	
Halters with straps.....	4,570	50	
Harness, Artillery, lead, sets, double, with spare parts.....	458	25	
Harness, Artillery, wheel, sets, double, with spare parts.....	242	25	
Haversacks.....	15,431	150	
Holsters, revolver, caliber .45.....	6,317	40	
Knapsacks, Artillery.....	2,252	10	
Knives.....	19,854	150	
Knife and scabbard, Hospital Corps.....	877	10	
Knots, saber.....	1,795	40	
Lanyards, revolver.....	2,063	25	
Lariats.....	2,412	40	
Limber, forge, 3-inch, Field Artillery, with spare parts, accessories, and tools.....	12	12	For contents and articles, see pp. 124, 128, and 133, Handbook 3-inch Field Artillery Material, 1908.
Limber, store wagon, for 3-inch Field Artillery, with spare parts, accessories, and miscellaneous equipment.....	12	12	See pp. 124, 128, 129, 130, and 131, Handbook 3-inch Field Artillery Material, 1908.
Limbers, for 3-inch field gun and caisson, with spare parts and accessories.....	192	192	See pp. 124 and 127, Handbook 3-inch Field Artillery Material, 1908.
Links.....	2,828	40	
Machine guns, Maxim automatic, with tripod.....	60	40	
Outfit, marking.....	129	10	
Outfit, stencil.....	129	10	
Pack outfits, machine gun, complete, sets.....	10	40	
Pick mattock, intrenching, with carriers.....	1,326	25	
Pins, picket.....	2,412	40	
Plotters, Field Artillery.....	6	20	
Pouch, for first aid packet.....	19,283	25	
Range finder, Weldon, and 60-foot tape.....	134	10	



Articles.	Number necessary to place division in the field.	Per cent to be added to keep division in field for one year.	Remarks.
ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT—continued.			
Revolvers, caliber .45.....	6,317	50	
Rifles, caliber .30.....	13,571	50	
Rod, cleaning, and case.....	1,640	40	
Sabers and scabbards, enlisted men.....	1,063	40	
Sabers and scabbards, officers.....	732	20	
Saddles, complete, Ordnance.....	3,069	40	
Saddlers' material, sets, Artillery.....	12	100	Page 135, Handbook Field Artillery Material, 1908.
Saddlers' material, sets, Infantry, Cavalry, etc.....	26	100	Page 631, Ordnance Supply Manual, 1904.
Scabbards, bayonet.....	12,171	40	
Scabbards, rifle.....	1,545	25	
Shell, steel, rds., 3-inch Field Artillery.....	5,568	400	
Shovels, intrenching, with carriers.....	3,978	25	
Shrapnel, rds., 3-inch.....	16,604	400	
Spoons.....	19,854	150	
Spurs, with straps, pairs, enlisted men.....	3,451	100	
Spurs, with straps, pairs, officers.....	420	100	
Stirrup, with socket for guidon.....	50	10	
Store wagon for 3-inch Field Artillery, with spare parts, accessories, and miscellaneous equipment.....	12		See pages 124, 128, 129, 130, and 131, Handbook 3-inch Field Artillery Material, 1908.
Straps, canteen, mounted.....	3,249	200	
Straps, canteen, haversack.....	3,088	50	
Straps, lariat.....	1,795	40	
Straps, saber.....	3,590	100	
Surcingle.....	4,469	40	
Suspenders, rifle cartridge, belt, pairs.....	1,218	100	
Tape, measuring, steel.....	108	10	
Tool kit, complete, for repair caliber .30 rifle.....	15	10	For contents, see G. O. 89, War Department, 1906.
Tools, saddlers, sets, Ordnance Department.....			For contents, see page 630, Ordnance Supply Manual, 1904.
Wads, 3-inch field artillery.....	3,600	100	
Wagons, reel cart.....	6	10	
Wire cutters, intrenching, with carrier.....	1,674	20	
ENGINEER CORPS.			
Blinds for pack mules.....	3	10	
Compasses, watch.....	750	20	
Equipment, Engineer company, engineer supplies, sets.....	3		See G. O. 13, Engineer Corps, 1909. About twice the bulk will be required for one year's supply.
Reconnaissance instruments, sets.....	156	(1)	Paper, etc., 200 per cent; instruments, 20 per cent. See G. O. 73, War Department, 1907, and G. O. 113, War Department, 1906, for contents of set.
Saddles, pack, complete, Engineer.....	18	20	
Wagons, map.....	1	10	
Wagons, tool.....	9	10	
SIGNAL CORPS.			
Blanks, field message, blocks.....	682	60	
Envelopes, field message.....	13,640	600	
Equipment, Battery Field Artillery, for fire control, sets.....	12	20	See G. O. 150, War Department, 1910.
Equipment, battalion, Field Artillery, for fire control sets.....	4	20	See G. O. 150, War Department, 1910.
Equipment, regimental, Field Artillery, for fire control, sets.....	2	20	See G. O. 150, War Department, 1910.
Glasses, field.....	903	10	
Kits, flag, 2 feet.....	260	20	
Signal Corps property, equipment for 1 battalion of 2 companies.....			See pages 34 and 32, Field Service Regulations, and Circular 6, 1910, Office Chief Signal Officer.
Wagons, instrument.....	2	10	
Wagons, wire cart.....	8	10	
MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.			
Ambulance companies, medical supplies of.....	4	(1)	See par. 594, Tables 1 and 2, sub. pars. (a), Manual Medical Department, 1906. Expendable articles, printed in Roman letters, 300 per cent; unexpendable articles, printed in italics, 20 per cent.
Blinds for pack mules.....	16	10	
Dressings, surgical, for ambulance, boxes of.....	48	1,200	

<sup>1</sup> See Remarks.

Articles.	Number necessary to place division in the field.	Per cent to be added to keep division in field for one year.	Remarks.
MEDICAL DEPARTMENT—contd.			
Field hospitals.....	4	(1)	For capacity of chests carrying medicines for 1 field hospital see par. 630, Medical Manual, 1906. Pars. 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, and 589 in column 1 show property and stores other than medicines. Those in italics should be increased 20 per cent, those in Roman letters 1,200 per cent for 1 year. All above are packed on 8 field wagons. The amount should be multiplied by 4 for the 4 field hospitals packed on 32 field wagons.
Litters, hand, with slings.....	147	25	
Litters, with slings, for ambulances.....	192	25	Carried in ambulance.
Packets, first aid.....	19,854	150	
Regimental infirmary, medical supplies and property, sets.....	12	(1)	For medical supplies, etc., see par. 593, Manual Medical Department, 1906; under headings (a) and (b) find paragraphs giving contents of chests. Articles in italics 20 per cent, in roman letters 300 per cent.
Reserve, medical.....	1	(1)	For medical property and supplies see par. 596, Manual Medical Department, 1906. For articles in roman letters 1,200 per cent, for those in italics 20 per cent.
Saddles, pack, complete, medical.....	28	20	
Stores, hospital, for ambulance, boxes of.....	48	1,200	Par. 598, Manual Medical Department, 1906.
Travois.....	16	20	

<sup>1</sup> See Remarks.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I call for a vote.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts.

The question was taken, and the Chairman announced the yeas appeared to have it.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a division.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 17, yeas 55.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. GUERNSEY. Mr. Chairman, I am decidedly in favor at this time of strengthening the Army and Navy and in favor of the amendments to that end such as have been offered to the Army bill now being considered. I can scarcely understand how at this time any man on the Atlantic seaboard should oppose strengthening these branches of the Government, particularly the Members from New England.

It is our duty to pass legislation now that will strengthen the Navy, strengthen the coast defenses, and strengthen the Army.

It takes time to carry out such legislation, so we should act at once. There is no necessity of becoming alarmed; but the suddenness with which war came in Europe last August should be a warning. Let us be prepared to defend ourselves if the occasion arises.

And as a Member from the State of Maine, I fear that the administration's policy in regard to Government-owned ships may lead us into difficulties with England, with whom we may have to deal on account of it before the close of this European war, as the proposed shipping legislation and our policy in purchasing foreign ships may cause England to believe she is being embarrassed in her struggle for existence. If England turns her attention toward us, I want the Army and the Navy and the coast defenses in the East strong enough to make her stop and think twice, as her plan might be to seize the harbor and the city of Portland in order to secure control of the terminus of the Canadian Grand Trunk Railway and the control of that line to Canada, an act that would set Maine off into Canada overnight, make New England the seat of war, and life and property there worth no more than it is to-day in Belgium.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the pro forma amendment will be withdrawn.

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Small-arms target practice: For manufacture of ammunition, targets, and other accessories for small-arms and machine-gun target practice and



instruction; marksmen's medals, prize arms, and insignia for all arms of the service; and ammunition, targets, target materials, and other accessories may be issued for small-arms target practice and instruction at the educational institutions and State soldiers' and sailors' orphans' homes to which issues of small arms are lawfully made, under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe, provided the total value of the stores so issued to the educational institutions and homes does not exceed \$30,000, \$500,000.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Insert at the end of line 22, page 49, the following:

"Provided, That no more than \$30,000 of this appropriation may be used for the purchase of articles not manufactured by the Government and necessary for small-arms target practice."

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, that amount is made up of 12,000,000 gallery-practice cartridges, at \$1.60 per thousand, \$19,200; 15,000 score books, various models, at 20 cents each, \$3,000; Aiken targets, target spotters, recording rifle rod outfits, sand glasses, time-interval recorders, and so forth, \$2,800; unforeseen expenditures, \$5,000.

Under the provisions of the bill as it is they could not buy anything under this appropriation with this authority that I now propose.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Very much of the ammunition for which provision is herein made is produced at the Frankford Arsenal in Philadelphia, and at the present time that arsenal is very much cramped for room. An effort is being made to obtain additional equipment and also to secure some ground adjacent to the present property to better conduct the great and economical work now being done at the arsenal, to increase the safety of the employees, and to protect the property of the Government.

In compliance with what appears to be the urgent need of the arsenal at this time, the Secretary of War, I am informed, has recommended to Congress the advisability of making appropriations, as follows:

One tin shop.....	\$72,000
Extension of the lumber shed.....	22,500
Extension of the double-action press shop building.....	6,000
Improving the facilities of the boiler plant.....	15,000
Purchase of additional land.....	130,000

As to those improvements which, in view of present and possible future demands upon the arsenal, are badly needed, I desire to quote some timely suggestions made by a joint committee of trade bodies, citizens, and workmen who have taken a public-spirited interest in the arsenal.

As to the tin shop, this committee says:

It is one of the oldest buildings at the arsenal and it has been added to from time to time so that it is practically a brick shanty. This tin shop is really a sheet-metal shop, being engaged largely in the manufacture of sheet-metal boxes for ammunition, and we have been informed that should the manufacture of small arms ammunition be resumed at the full capacity of the plant, the tin shop is inadequate to meet the situation. We are also informed that the question came up some time ago of putting in additional machinery to manufacture metal boxes for artillery ammunition and the project had to be given up by reason of lack of space. The building is very low, the hangers supporting the shafting not being more than 10 feet from the floor. We have noticed material stored on the outside, due to lack of room, and we have noticed on the north side that a small addition had been put to the building, made of frame with a roofing of canvas, to give additional room for property under manufacture. The tinning plant where all of these boxes are required to be tinned, is a small frame building, very much worn out and very discreditable to the arsenal.

As to the items for the lumber shed, the double-action press shop, and the boiler shop the joint committee says:

The extension to the lumber shed is needed to relieve the congestion in the present shrapnel shop, and also in the carpenter shop. It was found necessary in order to meet the appropriations made by Congress last year, to largely increase the quantity of machinery in the present buildings, with the result that they are so congested that the working conditions for employees are not what they should be, and there is not adequate space for inspection of the finished articles. The congestion would be greatly relieved by this extension of the lumber shed, if not entirely removed.

The extension of the double-action press shop building is also necessary, for the reason that the space in that building at the present time is inadequate for the storage of the cartridge metal required in the manufacture of small arms ammunition. It has been necessary to store boxes of cartridge metal on the platform of the building. It is well known that corrosion of the brass will take place under such conditions, which makes manufacturing particularly difficult as it increases the wear on the various punches and dies used in drawing the metal.

The object of improving the facilities of the boiler plant is to get rid of the smoke nuisance of which daily complaints are now made in the newspapers, and to enable the arsenal to burn a more volatile and cheaper grade of coal. It has been computed that after allowing for depreciation and interest on the investment, the expenditure would net the Government about 10 per cent annually, and this is based solely on the guaranty of one manufacture of stokers, who will undertake to install these facilities with such a guaranty.

Strong reasons are also submitted by the citizens' joint committee in support of the acquisition of additional land to afford ample scope for the operations of the arsenal:

1. To furnish space along the Delaware River on which to erect magazines for the storage of powders and explosives, which magazines are now within about 50 yards of the nearest shop building in which American citizens are obliged to work. The United States Government should be the first and leading employer in the United States in the matter of providing for the safety of its employees.

2. The additional land will provide for the removal of the present dry houses wherein detonators and primers are dried. In May of 1913 one of these dry houses blew up, killing a man who was inside and destroying windows in the adjacent shop buildings. These dry houses would be located on this land, so that they would no longer be an element of danger.

3. The procurement of this land will enable the Government to erect storehouses there for the storage of artillery ammunition, which would save the Government \$15,000 to \$20,000 annually on the transportation to Picatinny Arsenal, near Dover, N. J., where such ammunition is now stored after manufacture at this arsenal.

4. The purchase of the land will give the arsenal a water front on the Delaware River and greatly improve its shipping facilities. The purchase of the land will make the Frankford Arsenal a better shipping point than probably any other arsenal, as shipments from it can more economically and expeditiously reach the Pacific coast, the Hawaiian Islands, and the Philippines by reason of the opening of the Panama Canal than can shipments from any other distributing point. It also has the similar advantage if it should obtain this water front of cheaply distributing ammunition along the entire seacoast of the United States.

The Clerk read as follows:

Manufacture of arms: For manufacturing, repairing, and issuing arms at the national armories: *Provided*, That existing written agreements involving the purchase of patented articles patents for which have not expired may be carried out, \$250,000.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey offers an amendment which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 50, line 2, after the words "carried out," strike out "\$250,000" and insert "\$1,700,000."

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, this is not the amount that I think we ought to appropriate. I think it ought to be \$7,250,000, so that we could put 500,000 rifles in our reserve every year. We have only 480,000 arms of the present pattern in reserve, and there are 200,000 more in the hands of certain schools or of the Army or of the National Guard. We have 343,000 Krag's, I shall be told, and that is true, but those Krag's do not carry the same ammunition as the other guns, and they are therefore not the best rifles to put in the hands of an army in the field.

Up to the year 1909, however, Mr. Chairman—and I address the chairman of the committee especially on this—for 10 years we appropriated this sum of \$1,700,000, which put into our arsenals, at the price then prevailing, 100,000 rifles a year, and which would now put in a few more, for they cost \$15 instead of \$17. The policy now adopted of reducing that amount to \$250,000 will only give, according to Gen. Crozier, 12,000 new rifles and 1,000 pistols. The rifles that are thus given are not enough to take care of the ordinary wearing out of the guns in the Army and in the militia; and I also submit that the policy of putting at least 100,000 a year into our reserve is not only according to precedent but what ought to be conceded to me by the committee. I submit that it is fair. I know that I can carry nothing here in this Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union without the leave of the Committee on Military Affairs. I know that they have the interests of the country at heart; but why should we have appropriated up to 1909, when there was nothing to threaten us, \$1,700,000 a year and then refuse to appropriate that sum now, to put only 100,000 rifles in the armories of this country each year? It can do no harm, and, if they are needed, it can do much good. And I appeal to the chairman of the committee that this amendment, at least, should pass, and we should to that extent have assurance that we should not be put in the awful position of a nation of the first class calling upon volunteers to defend it and being unable to put rifles in their hands—a position that England, at least, has been in for the last five months. I ask that this additional appropriation be made in the bill.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I just want to say a word. I appreciate the interest of my friend from New Jersey, with whom I served for many years on the Committee on Military Affairs, as to this item, but this was what was asked for by the War Department. We have not cut it down at all. And the fact that we appropriated \$1,700,000 for so many years has resulted in this reserve and enables us now to appropriate only \$250,000.

Mr. Chairman, I ask for a vote.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Will the gentleman grant me a minute out of his time? The gentleman will remember that in 1899, by action of the committee, without request, we increased the appropriation from \$400,000 to \$800,000. It was



done by the committee. This should be done by the House. It is the House that ought to judge of the necessities of the Nation in such a case. And all I ask of the chairman of the committee is, not that he will accede, but I ask him to say that he is willing to leave it to the judgment of the House.

Mr. HAY. I have to leave everything to the judgment of the House. I give my own judgment about it. I think when we give them all they ask for, that is all we ought to do.

Mr. GILLET. Mr. Chairman, in the amendment which the gentleman from New Jersey has offered I have an interest somewhat different, I must admit, from the country at large and from the other Members of the House, because these rifles are made in the city where I live.

Therefore I wish to suggest one argument which has not been touched upon. It is very important and essential that there should be always kept on hand in the Government factory a trained and steady and, as far as possible, permanent force of skilled artisans, who in time of war can suddenly speed up and make the arms which will then be necessary, because, as I understand the theory upon which the gentleman from Virginia opposes any increase, is that upon the premonition of war we should be able, as to ammunition and all kinds of armaments, to increase very largely the production, and therefore our armies would be equipped in time.

Now, of course, to accomplish that it is necessary that there should be a large nucleus of men competent to do the work. The manufacture of rifles requires a peculiar skill on the part of the mechanics. It can not be done by labor picked up momentarily. It requires long training, and there has been collected at Springfield a large force of men who are wonderfully equipped for that particular work, and it would be a shame to scatter and lose them.

I remember when I first came to Congress, 20 years ago, my predecessor gave me the advice that he thought it was best for the United States, and it was the policy which he had followed for a long time, that there should be a steady and regular, rather than a very large, appropriation for the manufacture of arms, "because," he said, "in that way you keep up a permanent and contented force of skilled mechanics who are necessary for the Government in time of peril."

Now, the House will readily see that the sudden drop of late from \$1,700,000 to \$250,000 a year naturally breaks up and dissipates this force. And it is particularly hard upon the men that this decrease of force should come when all manufactures are stagnant and it is hard for them to find other places. It would be vastly better, I believe, to have followed the principle suggested by my predecessor and not to have gone up to such a high level as \$1,700,000 a year if we are going to drop to so low a level as \$250,000 a year; and I think that is an element which ought to be considered in the interest of good administration, not only of this arsenal, but of all arsenals where mechanics of great skill are required to carry on the production for the Government. [Applause.]

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER] moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Chairman, now that we are discussing the question of the need, or the absence of any need of a large increase in the number of rifles, I would like to ask the gentleman from Virginia, the chairman of the committee, about what percentage of the adult male population of the United States could effectively use in time of war the repeating Army rifle?

Mr. HAY. Well, about 16,000,000.

Mr. COOPER. Does the gentleman think that every adult person in the United States could use effectively an Army rifle?

Mr. HAY. No; I am talking about male citizens of military age.

Mr. COOPER. So that the gentleman thinks that training by shooting at targets is of no value, but that every male citizen of military age is a natural expert with a rifle?

Mr. HAY. I have not said that. I have said that they could use them.

Mr. COOPER. They could use them as a club, perhaps. I mean as a rifle?

Mr. HAY. Of course they would have to be trained.

Mr. COOPER. Precisely; "they would have to be trained." But how and where and when are they to be trained? I ask this question because it has been stated in this debate that there is approximately 111,000 militia in the United States who are supposed to be fitting themselves should the country call on them to help defend it. Of that 111,000, 44,000 did not appear at the rifle ranges for target practice last year. They were out on parade, but they were not fitting themselves to be able to shoot straight.

Now, it was once truly and forcefully said by a very distinguished American that "in war the only shots that count are those that hit." England to-day is training her militia to shoot. I have seen pictures recently, reproductions of photographs, showing how Lord Kitchener has, if I may use the expression, the green militia and volunteers out in England trying to teach them in this time of great stress, of possible dire emergency, how to shoot. Thousands of them had never before had a rifle in their hands, did not know how to load it, did not know how to sight it, did not know anything about how to elevate or depress the muzzle of a gun to hit an enemy at 300 or 500 yards, or at any other distance. Training of this sort is something that we ought, either by National legislation or State legislation, to bring about.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I know of a case, Mr. Chairman, where more than 300 new men were put into a regiment when the troops went down to Fort Sam Houston, Tex., and by the use of assiduous practice at diminished targets they were able to obtain credit marks for marksmanship, almost every one of them, within a month, and a large proportion of them qualified as sharpshooters. I am answering as to the time necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER]. The question was taken, and the Chairman announced that the yeas seemed to have it.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I ask for a division, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER] asks for a division.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 20, yeas 68.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I want to ask unanimous consent to return to the item on page 44, relating to the library in the Surgeon General's office, for the purpose of permitting the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. LLOYD] to ask unanimous consent to extend his remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HAY] asks unanimous consent to return to the item on page 44, under the Army Medical Museum Library, for the purpose indicated. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Reserving the right to object, what is his purpose? I did not hear the gentleman.

Mr. HAY. In order to permit the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. LLOYD] to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LLOYD. I wish to extend my remarks on this particular subject. I was attacked during the last campaign for having voted for the merger of this library with the Congressional Library, and I wish to say something about this particular library and why it should be continued, and give something of its history.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the gentleman's request to extend his remarks?

There was no objection.

Mr. LLOYD. Mr. Chairman, in the Army appropriation bill for the present fiscal year as passed by the House of Representatives \$10,000 was appropriated for the library of the Surgeon General's office, including the purchase of necessary books of reference and periodicals. Such a provision has been regularly included in the appropriation acts for many years past, but in that bill, as it was reported from the Committee on Military Affairs in the Senate, the same item appeared with the following additions:

*Provided*, That on or before January 1, 1915, said library shall be transferred to and become a part of the Library of Congress, and so much of the amount herein appropriated as may be necessary is made available for paying the expenses of such removal.

You will observe that this provision would have merged the Surgeon General's library with the Library of Congress. After the adoption by the Senate of the amendment I received a letter from the chairman of the Medical Association of the City of St. Louis protesting against the adoption of the amendment. I made some inquiry about the provision and wrote, in reply to the letter, some of the arguments which I had heard in favor of the merger of these two libraries, and expressed myself rather strongly in praise of the Library of Congress, and said, in effect, that I did not know why the Library of Congress might not include a medical library, a law library, and in fact any kind of library that was useful to the public.

After this letter was written the military appropriation bill, as amended by the Senate, came to the House and on motion of the chairman of the military committee of the House all the amendments of the Senate were disagreed to and a conference was asked with the Senate. I voted for that motion; in fact,



there was no opposing vote to the motion. When the bill came back with an agreement of the conference committee between the two Houses the amendment referred to was eliminated. I voted for the conference report with this provision eliminated. So that, in fact, I cast two votes in opposition to the merger of these two libraries, although there was no direct vote in either case on that particular amendment.

Within a few weeks of the passage of the bill, with the Senate amendment eliminated, the Medical Association of Missouri passed resolutions denouncing me for voting for the merger of these two libraries, and the resolution was sent by the secretary of the association to every physician in my district with instructions, in effect, not to support me as the candidate for Congress. Several months after that time the secretary of the medical association of the State was kind enough to publish in the Medical Journal in the State of Missouri, of which he is the editor, a statement to the effect that they were mistaken in charging me with voting for the merger of the two libraries, and apologized to that extent for the course of the medical association.

I wish to say now that on account of the attack that was made upon me I made investigation, as I had never done before, of the necessity for the Surgeon General's library and the desirability of the merger, and am fully convinced that the merger was not desirable and that both libraries have important functions to perform. The Library of Congress is a general library of literary productions and is not devoting itself especially to the development and advancement of any profession, and the Surgeon General's library is performing splendid duty in furnishing information that could not be well secured elsewhere to the medical fraternity in the United States. I quote from the report of the Surgeon General of the United States on the advisability of the merger of the two libraries and concur in his views as expressed in the statement, and take pleasure in commending these views to the consideration of Congress.

There is no reason to believe that the Library of Congress is in a position to take over at short notice such an enormous institution as the library of the Surgeon General's office, and it is very certain that should the actual expenses of transporting the books from the one library to the other be paid for from the \$10,000 allowed for, little or nothing would remain for the purchase of books and periodicals during the fiscal year. The library of the Surgeon General's office has been for years in amicable relations with the Library of Congress, which refers to the former all questions dealing with medical literature. It is well understood that a purely medical library should be strictly delimited from a general library of secular literature, and to distribute the books now in the Surgeon General's library throughout the stacks of the Library of Congress would, if not impossible, be entirely destructive of the usefulness of the medical library. The Library of Congress is increasing along its own lines at the rate of 70,000 to 80,000 volumes a year, and it has distributed throughout its stacks space sufficient to allow for its own healthy growth for some years. It does not, however, have en bloc sufficient space to house the medical library should the proposed amendment of the Senate committee become law. There would still have to be special reading rooms for the users of the medical library and a specially trained force for its cataloguing and for the issue of volumes to readers in Washington and throughout the country. The shelving now in the library building at Seventh and B Streets SW. has cost in the neighborhood of \$25,000, and it is doubtful if these stacks could be removed and used in the building of the Library of Congress, as they are entirely different in size, shape and structural material. A large sum of money would therefore necessarily be expended in making the transfer, and it is believed no gain whatever in economy of administration would result. The time lost to the many institutions and scientists who use the medical library throughout the country by the transfer is also well worth considering. To stop the current work of the Surgeon General's library even for a month would be to inflict a serious injury upon the public, and probably much more time than one month would be required to make the transfer.

The library of the Surgeon General's office, so called because it has been attached to that bureau of the War Department since 1836, is, in effect, the national medical library, consisting of over half a million medical books and pamphlets which are constantly used, not only by the Medical Corps of the United States Army but by the medical profession of the whole country at large. The index catalogue of this library, now numbering 33 volumes in folio, is acknowledged and used all over the world as the standard bibliography of medical literature, consisting of a subject and author index arranged in strictly alphabetical order, thus easily accessible to physicians seeking information on any medical subject whatever.

I think in this connection, as no statement has been given to the public of the history of this library, it would not be out of order to submit as a part of my remarks a brief history of the library and its index catalogue as furnished by the Librarian of the Medical Library:

For many years there was a small collection of medical books and journals in the Surgeon General's office at Washington, which collection was commenced by Surg. Gen. Lovell prior to 1836. At the commencement of the Civil War this collection amounted to between three and four hundred volumes. During the administration of Surg. Gen. Hammond—1862-63—359 volumes were added to the collection. During 1864-65 about 1,000 were added, selected mainly by Dr. Woodward and Dr. Otis. In the fall of 1865 the library came under the administration of Dr. John S. Billings, who had just completed a long and honorable period of service as Army surgeon during the Civil War. Dr. Billings at once recognized the opportunity offered of founding a great national medical library, and the valuable collection we have to-day is the result of his energy, perseverance, and judgment. Aided

by liberal appropriations from Congress, the growth of the library under its able and energetic director was phenomenal.

A catalogue of the books in the Army Medical Library was published in 1872, and another in three volumes in 1873-74. In connection with this Dr. Billings had early conceived the idea of indexing the files of periodicals in the library, so that as an addition to the catalogue of authors a subject index of the literature of medicine might also be printed. The work of indexing periodicals was actually begun in 1873, and in 1876 a "Specimen Fasciculus of a Catalogue" of the library, consisting of a combined index of authors and subjects arranged in dictionary order in a single alphabet, was printed and distributed to medical libraries and bibliographers to obtain criticisms and suggestions as to the form of catalogue that would be most acceptable and useful. At this time the library contained about 52,000 books and pamphlets.

Soon after the publication of the "Specimen Fasciculus" Dr. Robert Fletcher was assigned to duty in the library and became the principal assistant in the work of preparing and printing the index catalogue. The first volume of the latter—a large quarto of 888 pages—was printed in 1880, and 15 volumes of similar size followed making a first series from A to Z of 16 volumes, 1880-1895. Volume I of the second series was printed in 1896, and 17 volumes of this series—1896-1913—have been printed to date, covering the alphabet from A to T, inclusive. After the completion of Volume XVI of the first series Dr. Billings was retired from active service in the Army at his own request, to assume the professorship of hygiene in the University of Pennsylvania, afterwards becoming librarian of the New York Public Library. The administrative successors of Dr. Billings in the Surgeon General's library have been Col. D. L. Huntington, 1896-97; Maj. James C. Merrill, 1898-1902; Maj. Walter Reed, 1902; Col. Walter D. McCaw, 1903-1913. The library is at present under the administration of Lieut. Col. Champe C. McCulloch.

The Index-Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon General's Office consists, as its title implies, of a full catalogue of the works contained in the library, and, in proper alphabetical sequence, a complete bibliography by subjects of the literature of medicine, carefully indexed, classified, subdivided, and arranged under the subject headings in alphabetical order by authors. Although bibliographies of medical literature had been attempted before by Gesner as early as 1545, and later by Merklin, von Haller, Ploucquet, Haeser, Young, Forbes, Atkinson, Callisen, Watts, and others, yet, in the language of Osler, "their efforts are Lilliputian beside the gargantuan undertaking of the Surgeon General's Office," which he describes further as "one of the most stupendous bibliographical works ever undertaken." By reason of the completeness of its bibliographies, especially in the matter of periodical literature and its exhaustive cross-reference, the catalogue is practically a working guide and index to the medical libraries of other cities and countries, and it is stated on good authority that well-thumbed and well-worn copies in foreign universities and libraries attest its constant use.

The edition of the Index-Catalogue is limited to 1,500 copies, which are distributed with care and discrimination among the great medical and general libraries of the United States and Europe and among individual workers in scientific medicine. The cordial recognition and appreciation of the work of the catalogue by medical men is evidenced by their constant use of the library and by the great increase in the number of large medical libraries in the country, many of which, like those of Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, have adopted the methods of the National Medical Library. Tokens such as these go far toward verifying the prediction made by Dr. Billings 30 years ago that "if a sufficient number of the catalogue be printed and distributed to our medical writers and teachers, so that they may at their leisure learn what aid they can obtain in their researches, no collection of the Government will be more used or be of more practical utility; that it will soon tend to elevate the standard of medical education, literature, and scholarship of the Nation, and will thus indirectly be for the benefit of the whole country, since the general knowledge and skill of the medical profession becomes a matter of personal interest to almost every individual at some time during the course of his life." It will be seen, therefore, that the gratitude of the entire medical profession, if not the public, is due to the liberal and broad-minded spirit displayed by Congress in furthering and supporting this important work, which is one of the well-recognized landmarks in the history of modern medicine, and, if we may again cite Osler, "will ever remain a monument to the Army Medical Department."

There are many Members of Congress, I have no doubt, whose attention has never been called to this library and do not know even where it is located.

The books in this library are stored in the Army Medical Museum at Seventh and B Streets SW. in this city. One-half of this splendid building contains the Medical Museum proper—one of the finest collections of its kind in existence—and the other one-half is used for the purpose of the library.

It is claimed by those familiar with this library that it is necessary for the Medical Corps of the United States Army, and through it valuable information is given to the medical fraternity as well. The Librarian of this library in another statement commends the library in these words:

As an adjunct to the Medical Corps of the United States Army, the library is of inestimable value, forming, in connection with the Medical Museum, the Army Medical School, and the Walter Reed General Hospital, a central medico-military plant adequate for the needs of a good modern army establishment not unlike those of Netley, in England, Val de Grace, in France, or the Friedrich-Wilhelms Institute, in Berlin. The latter is the only other military establishment which has a library of anything like the value of the library of the Surgeon General's Office.

It is submitted that to make any change in the present title and administration of this library would have the effect of destroying its usefulness. Moreover, such a library ought, in any case, to be under the direction of some highly educated physician, and to dissociate it from the Army medical establishment would be to deprive that branch of the service of one of its best working tools. The examinations for admission to the Medical Corps of the United States Army are so rigorous as to make a definite selection of physicians of much higher grade than the average, and the history of modern medicine shows conclusively that some of the greatest recent advances in tropical medicine and in the prevention of infectious and parasitic diseases have been due to the work and cooperation of Army surgeons. To date the Na-



tion's medical library has thrived and prospered very well under the Army administration, to the satisfaction of the entire medical profession, and it is difficult to see what advantages would be derived from pitchforking it into a general collection of secular literature such as that of the Library of Congress.

This library at the present time contains 189,171 bound volumes and 325,639 pamphlets. The United States Government pays annually for the salaries of the persons in charge of the library \$37,730, and has 44 persons employed.

My candid judgment is that any reasonable amount of money spent in maintaining this library and adding to it from time to time is money well expended. I therefore take pleasure in supporting the provision in this bill appropriating \$10,000 for the purchase of new books and periodicals.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. COOPER. I do so for the purpose of reading a line or two from the Chief of Staff as to the number of militia practicing in the use of the rifle and how expert they become. On page 7 he said that the number of men who had any practice with the rifle during the 1913 season was 52.56 per cent, or a little over one-half, and that the number who qualified as second-class men or better was 33 per cent and a fraction. Only one-third of those who did practice got so that they were even second-class men or better.

The Clerk read as follows:

For the purchase and manufacture of armored motor cars, \$50,000.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. With regard to the purchase and manufacture of armored motor cars, was that appropriation recommended by the department?

Mr. HAY. It was not.

Mr. GARDNER. In other words, the committee saw fit to go beyond the recommendation of the department in that respect? [After a pause.] I did not catch the chairman's answer.

Mr. HAY. That is obvious, so there is no need to answer that.

The Clerk read as follows:

Field artillery for Organized Militia: For the purpose of manufacturing field artillery material for the Organized Militia of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, without cost to the said States, Territories, or the District of Columbia, but to remain the property of the United States and to be accounted for in the manner now prescribed by law, the Secretary of War is hereby authorized, under such regulations as he may prescribe, on the requisitions of the governors of the several States and Territories or the commanding general of the Militia of the District of Columbia, to issue said artillery material to the Organized Militia; and the sum of \$2,090,000 is hereby appropriated and made immediately available and to remain available until the end of the fiscal year 1917 for the manufacture and issue of the articles constituting the same.

Provided, That not more than \$25,000 of this appropriation may be used for the purchase of field artillery material.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I offer a committee amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Line 3, page 52, strike out "\$25,000" and insert "\$170,000."

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, the reason I offer that amendment is that there are certain things pertaining to field artillery which the Government does not manufacture and can not manufacture. The items of this appropriation are:

Tools, accessories, and horse blankets.....	\$34,595.00
19 battery commander's telescopes, at \$350 each.....	6,650.00
19 horizontal base range finders, at \$625 each.....	11,875.00
26 time-interval recorders, at \$16.25 each.....	422.50
722 automatic pistols, at \$13.25 each.....	9,566.50
1,444 extra magazines for automatic pistols, at 50 cents each.....	722.00
Range finders to complete batteries already appropriated for.....	42,500.00
Battery commander's telescopes to complete batteries already appropriated for.....	48,300.00
Unforeseen expenditures.....	15,369.00

Total.....170,000.00

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HAY].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. GARDNER:

Page 51, line 22, strike out the figures "\$2,090,000" and insert "\$4,000,000."

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, according to the table given by the chairman of the committee we are now 440 guns short of the proper number of field artillery pieces. His figures are correct so far as the Greble Board report is concerned. Of course, the number is nothing like what is required according

to the report of Gen. Wotherspoon, the Chief of Staff, made since the war broke out; but taking the figures that the chairman gives, we are 440 guns short. Gen. Crozier estimated that at the rate of this appropriation it will take us six years to get those guns. Last year he appeared before the committee and estimated then that it would take six years to get the guns at the rate of appropriation which he then advocated. This year Gen. Crozier came before the committee and said he had made a cut. The committee asked him why, and he said it was his orders. Then he proceeded to justify the cut in an argument substantially like this: "We are no nearer to war," he said, "than we were a year ago, and if it was safe to be six years behindhand with our guns a year ago, it is safe to be six years behindhand with our guns now." On that line of reasoning, when the day of judgment comes, we shall still be six years behindhand; we shall never catch up.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the \$2,090,000 appropriated here will bring us 52 new guns out of the 440 which the chairman of the committee says we need—52 new guns and 4 ammunition batteries. If you adopt my amendment, instead of the 52 guns and 4 ammunition batteries you will get some 120 guns and 4 ammunition batteries and a little more. When the money is spent, instead of being 388 guns shy with five years to run before we catch up to the Greble Board project, we shall only be 320 guns shy, if as many. It seems to me that what I propose is none too safe. Surely everyone must admit that we ought to be at least within four years of the number of guns requisite according to the low estimate of the Greble Board. The Greble Board reported in 1912. Of course, the figures have been vastly increased in Gen. Wotherspoon's report; but even the Greble Board report called for 1,292 guns, and we have only 860. If you fail to adopt my amendment, you will still be over 380 shy, even after the money is spent which the committee proposes to appropriate by this bill. The figures which I have just given you are those which Chairman Hay put in the Record yesterday morning and which he included in the article which he published in various Sunday papers two weeks ago; only he figures the guns by batteries. His figures show 325 batteries of 4 guns each to be provided ultimately. That equals 1,300 guns. Also, 215 batteries ready or being manufactured. That equals 860 guns. Also, his figures show 110 batteries yet to be provided for. That equals 440 guns.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I call for a vote.

Mr. GARDNER. Does not the gentleman intend to answer any of these arguments, or does he consider them not worthy of it?

Mr. HAY. We went over this matter thoroughly yesterday in general debate.

Mr. GARDNER. You did not discuss the figures that came from the War Department this morning, for we did not have them.

Mr. HAY. I will say, Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman from Massachusetts wants me to say something—

Mr. GARDNER. I want the gentleman to say whether I am correct or not.

Mr. HAY. I do not know, for I have not the figures.

Mr. GARDNER. Here are your own figures.

Mr. HAY. I say that according to the board they called for 1,292 field artillery guns. We have provided for and appropriated for and are providing for in this bill 912 of them, which leaves 380 to be hereafter provided for.

Mr. GARDNER. But your own table says 440.

Mr. HAY. If 912 from 1,292 does not leave 380, I do not know what arithmetic is. We have on hand, completed, 634 guns. We have appropriated for 226 guns, and we are appropriating in this bill for 52 guns, which makes 912.

Mr. GARDNER. Quite right, if you add the 52.

Mr. HAY. That is what I said. Now, Mr. Chairman, we are now appropriating what is asked for by the War Department. We have not cut the appropriation one dollar, and, in my judgment, it is not necessary for us to jump into this thing with great big appropriations. We have plenty of time before the dreams and visions of the gentleman from Massachusetts shall come about, to make all these guns.

Mr. KAHN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAY. Certainly.

Mr. KAHN. In addition to this amount which provides guns for the militia of the country, the Committee on Appropriations also gives something like \$900,000 for the manufacture of field guns.

Mr. HAY. That is true.

Mr. GARDNER. Yes; and last year the other committee did not give quite the whole amount asked for. Your committee did so. I do not know what the other committee will do this year. But the length of time which Gen. Crozier says it will



take at the present rate of appropriation to complete the 1,296 guns is based on the appropriations from both committees. He says that it will take six years.

Mr. KAHN. Gen. Crozier says that this is about all the money that he can expend the next year.

Mr. GARDNER. No; he does not, if you will excuse me. He says no such thing.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAY. I will.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I suggest that this colloquy affords another opportunity for the House to witness the fact that we have to straddle between the two committees to find out whether we have any guns at all under the present arrangement.

Mr. HAY. That is a fact.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 51, line 12, after the word "manufacturing" insert "in Government establishments."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois.

The question was taken, and on a division (demanded by Mr. TAVENNER) there were 65 ayes and 9 noes.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Ammunition for field artillery for Organized Militia: For the purpose of manufacturing reserve ammunition for field artillery for the Organized Militia of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, the funds to be immediately available and to remain available until the end of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, \$2,900,000.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, will it be in order for me to offer an amendment now or wait until the reading of the bill is completed? The provisos relate to different things.

Mr. HAY. The proviso is a part of the paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts will not lose his rights if the Clerk completes the reading.

Mr. GARDNER. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. GARDNER. The last two provisos do not qualify the paragraph for Field Artillery. Should my amendment be offered when we reach line 14, or line 6 on page 53?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair thinks it is immaterial.

Mr. HAY. I have no objection to the gentleman offering his amendment in either place.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman can offer his amendment now if he desires.

Mr. GARDNER. Then, Mr. Chairman, I will offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 52, line 11, strike out "\$2,900,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$5,000,000."

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, the line of reasoning is exactly the same as for the manufacture of field artillery. Two million nine hundred thousand dollars will manufacture 300,000 rounds of artillery ammunition. If my amendment is adopted, we shall be able to manufacture 600,000 rounds.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

Provided, That not more than \$25,000 of this appropriation may be used in the purchase of Field Artillery reserve ammunition.

Mr. DEITRICK. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 52, after line 14, insert the following: "Provided, That no part of the appropriations made in this bill shall be available for the salary or pay of any officer, manager, superintendent, foreman, or other person having charge of the work of any employee of the United States Government while making or causing to be made with a stop watch or other time-measuring device, a time study of any job of any such employee between the starting and the completion thereof, or of the movements of any such employee while engaged upon such work; nor shall any part of the appropriations made in this bill be available to pay any premium or bonus or cash reward to any employee in addition to his regular wages, except for suggestions resulting in improvements or economy in the operation of any Government plant; and no claim for services performed by any person while violating this proviso shall be allowed."

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, on that I reserve a point of order.

Mr. DEITRICK. Mr. Chairman, in offering this amendment to abolish the stop-watch and premium system, which has been in operation for the past five years at the Watertown Arsenal, I may state for the benefit of those who are not familiar with

this alleged efficiency system that an attempt is made by the use of the stop watch to get the shortest time in which the best workman can perform a given piece of work. If possible, the job is divided and each part is timed, and everything that possibly can be is eliminated and processes are shortened in order to obtain the "task" time for the job. Two-thirds of the "task" time is then added, and ever afterwards, unless the "task" time can be still further shortened, this total or job time is the time within which a workman is expected to complete a similar job. All workmen are expected to keep up with the pace thus set hour after hour, day after day, and week after week throughout the year. It will thus be seen that invariably the result is the speeding up in the movements of the workman. He must work faster, and for this faster work the Government allows him a premium based on the number of minutes he saves within the job time. This premium is in addition to his regular wages.

When the system was first introduced in Watertown there was a strike immediately among the molders. They refused to work under it. An attempt was made to introduce it, I am informed, at one of the other arsenals, and the men threatened to go out upon a strike.

Three years after this system had been forced into the Watertown Arsenal a petition was signed by a majority of the men employed in each department protesting against its further use. Many others would doubtless have signed the petition had it not been that they feared losing their positions. A large number of the men receiving premiums were among the signers. That petition was sent to me as the Representative of that district, and I submitted it to the War Department. Since then I have had wait upon me on a dozen different occasions committees of men from each department in the arsenal, and I have been stopped on the street many times by the men who work under the stop-watch system, and on one occasion, recently, I addressed a meeting of 200 men employed in the arsenal, and all these men protested vigorously against the stop watch.

Mr. Chairman, I do not believe that any of us object to proper and safe efficiency. I certainly do not, especially when it is efficiency backward; but I do object strenuously when it is efficiency backward and when it places additional burdens and risks upon the man at the bench. My contention is that in the speeding-up process such as is employed at the Watertown Arsenal there is not to be found real efficiency. This alleged efficiency system creates discontent among the workmen. It humiliates them. It makes uncertain their jobs. It contains many pitfalls. It increases the possibility of serious, if not fatal, injuries to the workmen. It causes a waste of material; and the whole atmosphere surrounding such a system tends to injure the health of the employees and results in a nervous state of mind which is wholly undesirable in a well-regulated shop.

Only last October a painter was killed while striving to earn a few extra cents as premium held out to him by the management as an inducement to hurry with his work; and as recently as December 21 last, four days before Christmas, a young laborer, 36 years old, while piling pig lead, was killed. Although the latter was not working under the premium system at the time he met his death, the man preceding him in handling the pig lead was working under the premium system, and the evidence indicates that the careless manner in which the premium worker handled the pig lead made it more difficult if not more dangerous for the laborer to pile it, and thus not only consumed more of the laborer's time but indirectly contributed to the laborer's death.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. BALTZ. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman be extended for five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, how long does the gentleman from Virginia expect to let this debate run?

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, a reasonable time. Does anyone want any time on that side?

Mr. MANN. I do not want any time.

Mr. J. I. NOLAN. Mr. Chairman, if the Chair does not sustain the point of order, I would like to have some time.

Mr. HAY. I do not think there is any question about the point of order.

Mr. J. I. NOLAN. If the point of order is sustained, I do not care to discuss it.

Mr. HAY. I will make the point of order when the gentleman from Massachusetts completes his remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the gentleman from Massachusetts proceeding for five minutes? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.



Mr. DEITRICK. Mr. Chairman, while not attempting to even partially discuss in detail the essentials of the efficiency system, so called, I wish to state that it contains many other disagreeable and wasteful features. The claim is made in its favor that it increases the workmen's pay. The men say that it takes it out of their very lives, because if they do not keep up with or approach the time set, the standard time, for a job, they will probably soon lose their positions. Of course that is not assigned by the officials as the reason for discharging a workman, but when we remember that the system requires frequent examples being made of workmen in order to frighten the others, it is quite evident that failure to make the time set on a job or the least infraction of the rules will result in the workman's discharge.

I know of my own knowledge one case in the Watertown Arsenal to which I wish to call attention. The foreman of the blacksmith shop, who had been there for 23 years, drawing the highest pay of a workman in his line, one day stated to a workman under him that the time allowed the workman within which to complete a job was insufficient. Up to that time no complaint had been made against this foreman. He had a splendid record, yet he was at once suspended, and inside of a few weeks he was reduced in rank and pay—reduced to such an extent that he resigned rather than bear the humiliation of such unjust punishment.

Now, I know something about that man. I have known him personally for a great many years. I have seen him upon the witness stand in the courts, called by some of the best lawyers in Boston, to give expert testimony upon questions involving steel and iron. He was a man 57 years old, in perfect health, and had a rugged physique at the time he was forced out. Even this old employee, after a quarter of a century of faithful service to the Government and while still competent, fell a victim to this un-American stop-watch system. And yet our good friends who speak on behalf of this system will tell you that the men themselves help to determine the time allowed upon a given piece of work. This is absolutely false. The very object of the system will not permit it.

The primary purpose of this system is to force a larger output, to get more out of the plant with the same or a less number of workmen. There is another object of this system which, of course, we are not told much about, but it is perfectly evident to every man who knows anything about workmen and their positions. Mr. F. W. Taylor, the originator of the system, in his book on the subject, states it is not well for workmen to be paid too much. He gives the whole story away right there. Wages eventually will be reduced. This is made easy when workmen become disorganized through the merely temporary stimulant of premium bait.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. DEITRICK. May I ask for just one minute more?

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. MANN. What is the request?

Mr. DEITRICK. For just one minute. I merely wish to state in closing, Mr. Chairman, that the Members perhaps do not know that the Labor Committees of both the Senate and the House in the last Congress unanimously reported out a bill to abolish the stop watch as now employed in Government plants.

I wish also to add that the Labor Committee of the House in this Congress, after a hearing on the so-called efficiency or stop-watch system at Watertown, unanimously reported in favor of abolishing all such systems as now used in Government plants.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order.

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. HAY. I do not care to be heard on the point of order.

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I desire to be heard. This amendment, Mr. Chairman, is clearly in order. There have been similar amendments made and held in order, and I want to call the Chair's attention to an amendment made by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. HUGHES] on February 21, 1911, which is as follows:

*Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be expended for the construction of any boat by any person, firm, or corporation which has not at the time of the commencement and construction of said vessel established an eight-hour workday for all employees, laborers, and mechanics engaged or to be engaged in the construction of the vessel named herein.

That is found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (No. 451, vol. 46, pt. 4, p. 3084).

The CHAIRMAN. Was the point of order made on that?

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. The point of order was made against that, and the point of order was sustained by the Chair, and the decision of the Chair was overruled by the House by a vote of 96 to 111. That vote will be found on page 3088.

The committee again divided; and the tellers reported—ayes 96, noes 111.

Now I want to call the attention of the Chair to the argument which was made by Mr. HUGHES of New Jersey and Mr. FITZGERALD at that time which would be much more convincing than any argument I could make at this time. This amendment is similar; it is a restriction, and it is clearly in order. If the Chair wishes, I could read some of the arguments made at that time and some of the references made.

A MEMBER. What is the date?

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. February 21, 1911. I will say that on February 21 (p. 3084), a reference is made to an amendment of similar character by the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD], which amendment was as follows:

That no part of any money appropriated by this act for charities or charitable institutions shall be paid to any institution named in this act until the charter or articles of incorporation thereof shall be so amended as to accord to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, or to their designated agents, authority to visit and inspect such institutions and to control and supervise the expenditure therein of all public funds paid out of appropriations made by Congress.

Mr. FITZGERALD claimed that the ruling was clearly analogous to the ruling which should be made here. Other references are also made.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, will my colleague yield for a question?

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Yes.

Mr. MANN. Does my colleague recall the very prominent case of the limitation that was put on the bill making appropriations for National soldiers' homes and State soldiers' homes, that no part of the appropriation would be expended in the homes for the maintenance of the canteen?

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. I was just going to refer to that.

Mr. MANN. Will my colleague yield? He has probably seen the amendment before. I have only heard it read. But as I heard the amendment read, if I got it rightly, it does not require anybody to do anything?

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. No.

Mr. MANN. But only requires that the appropriation shall not be made if something is done?

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. That is it.

Mr. MANN. It does not require positive action. It is not a change of law. It only says that the appropriation shall not be available if they do something which they now have the privilege of not doing?

Mr. HAY. Well, that is not exactly it, if the gentleman will permit me. Part of the amendment reads as follows:

Nor shall any part of the appropriation made in this bill be available to pay any premium or bonus or cash reward to any employee in addition to his regular wages except for suggestions resulting—

And so forth.

Mr. MANN. That is a pure limitation.

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. That is clearly a limitation, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MANN. We do not have to make an appropriation in order to give a bonus. As I caught the reading, it excepts the provision we passed in a special act here a few years ago to encourage suggestions.

Mr. HAY. We did pass a special act.

Mr. MANN. I thought the exception covered that, so we would not change the law in that respect.

Mr. HAY. I think it does. I have not the law before me.

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. It seems the amendment in regard to the canteen provided that no part of the appropriation should be appropriated to any national home for disabled volunteer soldiers which maintained the canteen. It seems that that was held to be in order, and if so this certainly is in order, because it restricts and limits the expenditure of the appropriation. It tells why it shall not be expended for a certain purpose, which is a limitation on the expenditure and would reduce the amount of the appropriation. Mr. Chairman, it has really been well established that the expenditure of money for purposes of this character is not only injurious to the working people of the country, but is an absolute waste. There are no business people of any standing to-day that have accepted the so-called stop-watch or Taylor system. It is demonstrated that it is not a scientific management or an efficient management, and therefore this amendment is clearly a limitation and will result in a reduction of the appropriation. It is not only a humane amendment, but is an amendment that will reduce the appropriation and result in economy, both to the



resources of the working people that are working for the Government and in the Government's finances. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me there is not a question of doubt, and should be no question of doubt, about the parliamentary status of an amendment of this kind.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. DEITRICK].

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Provided*, That the appropriations hereinbefore made under the heading "Ordnance Department" shall be available for the payment of an allowance not to exceed \$4 per day to civilian employees of the Ordnance Department traveling on official business outside of the District of Columbia and away from their designated posts of duty.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the paragraph. What is the allowance now given to civilian employees?

Mr. HAY. I understand this provision was put in to meet some provision in one of the appropriation bills of last year.

Mr. KAHN. The sundry civil bill of last year.

Mr. HAY. It was put in to conform to that provision last year. I do not remember now which bill it was in.

Mr. MANN. I think that provision says there shall be no allowance of over \$4 or \$5 a day.

Mr. HAY. I think \$4 is the amount.

Mr. KAHN. Four dollars.

Mr. MANN. I wondered whether these people now receive as much as \$4 a day.

Mr. HAY. I think they do. At least, I suppose so; but I do not know, to be perfectly frank with the gentleman. I have not looked the matter up.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, the Chief of the Ordnance Department says that was put in there in accordance with legislation that was carried in the sundry civil appropriation bill last year, which required it to be put in. They always had these allowances heretofore, but they did not have to be covered by special legislation until the requirement was put in the law.

Mr. MANN. I withdraw my point of order, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is withdrawn. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Provided*, That when one bureau or executive department procures by purchase or manufacture stores or material of any kind or performs any service for another bureau or executive department the funds of the bureau or department for which the stores or material are to be procured or the service performed may be placed subject to the requisition of the bureau or department making the procurement or performing the service for direct expenditure by it: *Provided*, That when the stores being procured are for current issue during the year stores of equal value may be issued from stock on hand in place of any of those aforesaid.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on that paragraph; and, relating to the previous paragraph, where I withdrew the point of order, the provision of the law put in the sundry civil bill last year was this:

Sec. 13. That the heads of executive departments and other Government establishments are authorized to prescribe per diem rates of allowance not exceeding \$4 in lieu of subsistence to persons engaged in field work or traveling on official business outside of the District of Columbia and away from their designated posts of duty when not otherwise fixed by law.

Now, that provision fixed in this bill is futile entirely, and instead of there being a law requiring this provision to be put in, if the officer who made that statement had read the law he would have found that a law already on the statute books authorizes the department to provide subsistence at \$4 a day.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is not the provision we have just passed broader in its phraseology, because it has not so many limitations as the provision in the sundry civil act? I imagine this is to escape from the limitations in the present law.

Mr. MANN. I do not see any difference. They are both for traveling outside the District of Columbia.

Mr. STAFFORD. There is a slight difference.

Mr. MANN. What is it?

Mr. STAFFORD. One relates to "when they are actually employed." This does not have any such limitation.

Mr. MANN. Where is the provision "to be actually employed" in the law?

Mr. STAFFORD. I understood there was such a restriction in what the gentleman read.

Mr. MANN. It is not there. I make the point of order, Mr. Chairman, against this amendment.

Mr. HAY. It is subject to a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. HAY. Now, Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to return to page 13, line 13, for the purpose of permitting the gen-

tleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] to offer an amendment, to which amendment I will make a point of order when the time comes.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer the following amendment, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HAY] asks unanimous consent to return to page 13, line 13, for the purpose of permitting the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] to offer an amendment. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MADDEN moves to amend, at the end of line 13, page 13, by inserting the following proviso:

*Provided*, That hereafter the clerks of the Quartermaster Corps who were formerly clerks of the Quartermaster's and subsistence departments shall have the same status, pay, and allowances as are now granted by law to the pay clerks of the Quartermaster Corps, including retirement and retired pay.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order on that.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is sustained.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I now move that the committee rise and report the bill to the House, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 20347) making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, had directed him to report the same back to the House with sundry amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the bill and amendments.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia moves the previous question on the bill and amendments.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them in gross. The question is on agreeing to the amendments.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, I move to recommit the bill with instructions to the committee to increase the amount allowed in the bill as the appropriation for airships by \$700,000.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. GARDNER moves to recommit the bill, with instructions to the committee to strike out the figures "\$600,000," on page 6, line 24, and insert "\$1,300,000"; and to strike out the figures "\$300,000," on page 7, line 4, and insert "\$1,000,000."

Mr. HAY. Mr. Speaker, on that I move the previous question.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia moves the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The question was taken, and the previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit with instructions.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. GARDNER) there were—ayes 20, noes 123.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, I raise the point that no quorum is present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts makes the point that no quorum is present. Evidently there is no quorum present. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify the absentees, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 34, nays 253, not voting 137, as follows:

#### YEAS—34.

Bathrick	Hayes	Miller	Stephens, Cal.
Cooper	Helgesen	Moss, W. Va.	Sutherland
Curry	Hinds	Murdock	Temple
Edmonds	Hobson	Nolan, J. I.	Thomson, Ill.
Esch	Johnson, Wash.	Parker, N. J.	Underhill
Farr	Lafferty	Peters	Volstead
Gardner	Lindbergh	Platt	Winslow
Greene, Mass.	McLaughlin	Rogers	
Guernsey	Mapes	Smith, J. M. C.	



## NAYS—253.

Abercrombie	Dies	Humphreys, Miss.	Price
Adair	Dillon	Igoe	Prouty
Adamson	Dixon	Jacoway	Quinn
Aiken	Donovan	Johnson, Ky.	Raker
Allen	Doolittle	Johnson, S. C.	Rauch
Anderson	Doremus	Jones	Reilly, Wis.
Anthony	Doughton	Kahn	Riordan
Ashbrook	Driscoll	Keating	Rouse
Aswell	Drukker	Kelly, Pa.	Rubey
Austin	Dupré	Kettner	Sabath
Bailey	Eagan	Key, Ohio	Seldomridge
Baker	Estopinal	Kiess, Pa.	Sherley
Baltz	Evans	Kindel	Sherwood
Barkley	Ferris	Kinkaid, Nebr.	Stims
Barnhart	Fields	Kirkpatrick	Sinnott
Bartlett	Finley	Konop	Sisson
Barton	Fitzgerald	La Follette	Slayden
Beakes	FitzHenry	Langley	Slemp
Blackmon	Flood, Va.	Lazaro	Sloan
Booher	Floyd, Ark.	Lee, Ga.	Small
Borchers	Fordney	Leshner	Smith, Idaho
Brockson	Foster	Lever	Smith, Minn.
Brodbeck	Fowler	Lieb	Smith, Tex.
Brown, N. Y.	Francis	Linthicum	Stafford
Brown, W. Va.	Gallagher	Lobeck	Stedman
Browne, Wis.	Gard	Loneragan	Steenerson
Browning	Garner	McAndrews	Stephens, Miss.
Brumbaugh	Garrett, Tenn.	McClellan	Stephens, Nebr.
Bryan	Garrett, Tex.	McGillicuddy	Stephens, Tex.
Buchanan, Ill.	Gerry	McKellar	Stevens, Minn.
Buchanan, Tex.	Gill	McKenzie	Stevens, N. H.
Bulkley	Gillett	Madden	Stone
Burgess	Gilmore	Magnire, Nebr.	Summers
Burke, S. Dak.	Goeke	Mann	Switzer
Burke, Wis.	Good	Martin	Tavener
Burnett	Goodwin, Ark.	Mitchell	Taylor, Ark.
Byrnes, Tenn.	Gordon	Mondell	Taylor, Colo.
Calder	Graham, Ill.	Montague	Ten Eyck
Callaway	Gray	Moon	Thacher
Campbell	Green, Iowa	Moore	Thomas
Candler, Miss.	Greene, Vt.	Morgan, Okla.	Thompson, Okla.
Caraway	Gregg	Morrison	Towner
Carlin	Gudger	Moss, Ind.	Townsend
Carter	Hamilton, N. Y.	Mott	Treadway
Cary	Hamlin	Mulkey	Tribble
Casey	Hardy	Murray	Underwood
Church	Harris	Neeley, Kans.	Vaughan
Clancy	Harrison	Norton	Vinson
Cline	Haugen	O'Brien	Vollmer
Coady	Hawley	Oglesby	Walker
Collier	Hay	O'Hair	Wallin
Connelly, Kans.	Hayden	Oldfield	Walters
Connolly, Iowa	Hedlin	Padgett	Watkins
Cox	Helm	Page, N. C.	Watson
Cramton	Helvering	Palmer	Weaver
Crisp	Hensley	Park	Webb
Cullop	Hill	Parker, N. Y.	Wingo
Danforth	Holland	Patten, N. Y.	Witherspoon
Davenport	Houston	Peterson	Woods
Decker	Howard	Phelan	Young, N. Dak.
Deitrick	Howell	Plumley	Young, Tex.
Dent	Hughes, Ga.	Porter	
Dershem	Hulings	Post	
Dickinson	Hull	Powers	

## NOT VOTING—137.

Ainey	Fairchild	Knowland, J. R.	Rothermel
Alexander	Faison	Korby	Rucker
Avis	Falconer	Kreider	Rupley
Barchfeld	Fergusson	Langham	Russell
Bartholdt	Fess	Lee, Pa.	Saunders
Beall, Tex.	Frear	L'Eagle	Scott
Bell, Cal.	French	Lenroot	Scully
Bell, Ga.	Gallivan	Levy	Sells
Borland	George	Lewis, Md.	Shackleford
Bowdle	Gittins	Lewis, Pa.	Shreve
Britten	Glass	Lindquist	Smith, Md.
Broussard	Godwin, N. C.	Lloyd	Smith, N. Y.
Bruckner	Goldfogle	Loft	Smith, Saml. W.
Burke, Pa.	Gorman	Logue	Sparkman
Butler	Goulden	McGuire, Okla.	Stanley
Byrnes, S. C.	Graham, Pa.	MacDonald	Stout
Cantor	Griest	Mahan	Stringer
Cantrill	Griffin	Maher	Taggart
Carew	Hamill	Manahan	Talbott, Md.
Carr	Hamilton, Mich.	Metz	Talcott, N. Y.
Chandler, N. Y.	Hart	Morgan, La.	Taylor, Ala.
Clark, Fla.	Henry	Morin	Taylor, N. Y.
Claypool	Hinebaugh	Neely, W. Va.	Tuttle
Conry	Hoxworth	Nelson	Vare
Copley	Hughes, W. Va.	O'Shaunessy	Walsh
Crosser	Humphrey, Wash.	Palge, Mass.	Whaley
Dale	Johnson, Utah	Patton, Pa.	Whitacre
Davis	Kelster	Pou	White
Diffenderfer	Kelley, Mich.	Ragsdale	Williams
Donohoe	Kennedy, Conn.	Rainey	Wilson, Fla.
Dooling	Kennedy, Iowa	Rayburn	Wilson, N. Y.
Dunn	Kennedy, R. I.	Reed	Woodruff
Eagle	Kent	Reilly, Conn.	
Edwards	Kinkead, N. J.	Roberts, Mass.	
Elder	Kitchin	Roberts, Nev.	

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Until further notice:

Mr. GOLDFOGLE with Mr. SHREVE.

Mr. RAINEY with Mr. BARCHFELD.

Mr. SCULLY with Mr. FAIRCHILD.

Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina with Mr. KIESS of Pennsylvania.

Mr. WHALEY with Mr. AINEY.

Mr. WILSON of Florida with Mr. DUNN.

Mr. BELL of Georgia with Mr. ROBERTS of Nevada.

Mr. ALEXANDER with Mr. BARTHOLDT.

Mr. BORLAND with Mr. AVIS.

Mr. CANTRILL with Mr. BUTLER.

Mr. CAREW with Mr. BELL of California.

Mr. CLARK of Florida with Mr. BRITTEN.

Mr. CONRY with Mr. BURKE of Pennsylvania.

Mr. DALE with Mr. CHANDLER of New York.

Mr. DOOLING with Mr. COPLEY.

Mr. EDWARDS with Mr. DAVIS.

Mr. GLASS with Mr. FESS.

Mr. GODWIN of North Carolina with Mr. FREAR.

Mr. GORMAN with Mr. FRENCH.

Mr. GOULDEN with Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania.

Mr. HAMILL with Mr. GRIEST.

Mr. HART with Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan.

Mr. HENRY with Mr. KELLEY of Michigan.

Mr. KITCHIN with Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington.

Mr. LEE of Pennsylvania with Mr. HUGHES of West Virginia.

Mr. LEWIS of Maryland with Mr. JOHNSON of Utah.

Mr. LLOYD with Mr. KENNEDY of Iowa.

Mr. LOFT with Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island.

Mr. NEELY of West Virginia with Mr. J. R. KNOWLAND.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY with Mr. KREIDER.

Mr. POU with Mr. LANGHAM.

Mr. RAGSDALE with Mr. LEWIS of Pennsylvania.

Mr. RAYBURN with Mr. MANAHAN.

Mr. RUCKER with Mr. MCGUIRE of Oklahoma.

Mr. RUSSELL with Mr. MORIN.

Mr. SAUNDERS with Mr. NELSON.

Mr. SHACKLEFORD with Mr. PAIGE of Massachusetts.

Mr. SPARKMAN with Mr. PATTON of Pennsylvania.

Mr. STOUT with Mr. ROBERTS of Massachusetts.

Mr. TAGGART with Mr. SCOTT.

Mr. WILLIAMS with Mr. SELLS.

Mr. BRUCKNER with Mr. SAMUEL W. SMITH.

Mr. CLAYPOOL with Mr. VARE.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A quorum being present, the doors were opened.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken, and the bill was passed.

On motion of Mr. HAY, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

## HOUR OF MEETING TO-MORROW.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock to-morrow morning in order to expedite the passage of the Agricultural bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet to-morrow at 11 o'clock a. m. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, is it the intention to go on with general debate to-night on the Agricultural bill?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I understand that the gentleman in charge of the Agricultural bill desires to go on with general debate this evening. Some gentlemen desire to speak, but it is not the desire of the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER] to press the House to do any work to-night.

Mr. STAFFORD. Can the gentleman inform the House how long he expects to sit?

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I would say to the gentleman that it is my intention to run until half past 8 or 9 o'clock.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is it the intention of the gentleman to finish the general debate to-morrow?

Mr. LEVER. We will try to get through with general debate to-morrow and take up debate under the five-minute rule, although I do not think it is the desire of the committee to run to-morrow later than 6 o'clock. However, I would not commit myself absolutely to that.

Mr. STAFFORD. How much general debate is proposed?

Mr. LEVER. The gentleman from Iowa and I have talked over the situation, and I think we will be able to agree on seven or seven and a half hours for general debate.

Mr. STAFFORD. Does not the gentleman think that if we conclude general debate to-morrow, together with the consideration of several other matters to be presented, the sending of the District appropriation bill to conference, that we will have concluded a pretty good day's work?



Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, that is a question that we better let to-morrow determine. We can not tell now. We are getting close to the end of the session, and gentlemen ought to stay here.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet to-morrow at 11 o'clock a. m.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, Mr. RUSSELL was granted leave of absence for two days, on account of sickness.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS IN THE RECORD.

Mr. JONES. Mr. Speaker—

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Virginia rise?

Mr. JONES. Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by publishing a paper put forth by the Boston Maritime Association discussing the legal aspects of the Government-owned merchant marine bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by publishing an essay in some Boston paper—

Mr. JONES. The Boston Maritime Association.

The SPEAKER. The Boston Maritime Association on the ship-purchase bill. Is there objection?

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Indiana objects.

#### CODIFYING, REVISING, AND AMENDING THE LAWS OF THE JUDICIARY.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I ask the Speaker to lay before the House the bill H. R. 19076, with Senate amendments.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 19076) to amend an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved March 3, 1911.

The Senate amendments were read.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House concur in the Senate amendments.

The question was taken, and the motion was agreed to.

#### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. ASHBROOK, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bill of the following title, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 20241. An act making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year 1915 and prior years, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bill of the following title:

S. 6121. An act to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Niagara River in the town of Lewiston, in the county of Niagara and State of New York.

#### ENROLLED BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS APPROVAL.

Mr. ASHBROOK, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that this day they had presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, the following bill:

H. R. 20241. An act making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year 1915 and prior years, and for other purposes.

#### AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 20415) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, and pending that motion I desire to ask the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN] if we can not agree upon time for general debate?

Mr. HAUGEN. Well, I will state to the gentleman I have had several requests for time, probably more than I can accommodate, but I would like four hours on this side.

Mr. LEVER. I would suggest to the gentleman that is rather a long time for debate on this bill, and would suggest we agree upon seven hours of general debate, three and a half hours to a side.

Mr. HAUGEN. Let me suggest, if we run an hour or two this evening, can not the gentleman afford to give eight hours' time to this important bill? Of course I appreciate we are close to the close of the session and I am not going to insist upon it, but if possible I would like to accommodate gentlemen who have asked for time.

Mr. LEVER. I appreciate the fact the gentleman has had a good deal of pressure on him; so have I; but I have said to gentlemen on this side that they would have to limit them-

selves in their demands for time, and I would appreciate very much if the gentleman and myself can agree upon seven hours.

Mr. HAUGEN. What would the gentleman say to seven and a half hours?

Mr. LEVER. Does the gentleman think he can not get along with less than that?

Mr. HAUGEN. Of course I can get along with whatever I can get, but I would like to have that much time.

Mr. LEVER. Let me submit the request. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that general debate on this bill be limited to seven hours, three and a half hours to be controlled by the gentleman from Iowa and three and a half hours to be controlled by myself.

The SPEAKER. Before the Chair puts that, the Chair neglected to ask if there is objection to the request of Mr. FIELDS this morning to have a correction made in the RECORD. They seem to leave the letter "s" off of his name. Is there objection to the request? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina for seven hours' general debate, half of the time to be controlled by himself and half by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN]? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The question now is on the House resolving itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 20415.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 20415, with Mr. HAMLIN in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 20415, the agricultural bill, which the Clerk will report by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 20415) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the first reading of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, how long does the gentleman expect to run to-night?

Mr. LEVER. I would like very much to run for two hours this evening. That would run us up to 8 o'clock. I have an hour and a half on this side to yield to gentlemen who are prepared to talk now, and I understand the gentleman from Iowa—

Mr. HAUGEN. I have 40 minutes.

Mr. MANN. Is it the expectation there will be no other business done to-night except this general debate?

Mr. LEVER. None whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HOWARD].

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Chairman, within the last few days we have heard very able and lucid discussions of the rural-credits question by two of our distinguished colleagues, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BULKLEY] and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MOSS].

In entering upon the discussion of this subject, to which I have given much thought and study, I do so for the sole purpose of presenting for consideration my own notions about the establishment of land-mortgage banks, which coincide with the views of many gentlemen throughout the country who have devoted years of study to this question. The views I shall give expression to do not dovetail entirely with the views previously expressed by my distinguished colleagues.

In presenting the provisions of House bill 12746, introduced by me January 31, 1914, and upon which I made an address to the House on February 17, 1914, attaching at the same time a detailed explanation of the bill, which I shall append hereto, I do so in no spirit of jealousy or with the least ambitious desire to have my views accepted over those of others if they do not appeal to the deliberate good judgment of those of us whose only purpose is to serve in the most practical way the great army of American farmers.

All of us who have given close study to the condition of the farmers and their needs are compelled to admit that the American farmer pays a higher rate of interest for the money he obtains from banking institutions than the farmer of any other great nation on earth. In fact, the rate of interest exacted of the small farmer, although it be the legal rate of interest prescribed by the laws of the different States, is almost prohibitory.

My judgment is, the existence of this condition is attributable to a system of banking which has been founded and built up to



meet the necessities of commercial rather than agricultural purposes.

Commercial and agricultural banking are as unmixable as oil and water, and the reason is this: Commercial banking institutions receiving the demand deposits of their customers are compelled by the very necessities of the case to keep their assets liquid and convertible into cash upon short notice for the protection of their depositors, and they therefore make short-time loans to meet any emergency, having fixed as a rule 90 days as the maximum limit; to which conditions commercial and industrial institutions have adjusted themselves. But any loan made to a farmer which is of shorter duration than from the time he plants his crop until the time he harvests his crop harasses rather than benefits him.

But while there is need for an extension of banking facilities, so that the farming loans may be carried from seed time to harvest—or for periods ranging from 6 to 12 months—yet this is by no means the principal need of the farming classes in a banking way. The provision of adequate banking facilities for enabling the farmer to properly finance his annually recurring needs is important and necessary. But even more important is the necessity of enabling him to secure the capital with which to partly pay for, improve, or stock his farm. The capital for the business must be provided before the business can be successfully conducted. In the farmer's case this capital can only be secured through mortgage loans, repayable in small periodical installments extending over a long term of years. The handling and placing of these long-term loans is the special business of the land-mortgage bank, and consequently in this discussion I shall confine myself largely to a consideration of these institutions.

Those of us who seek to relieve existing conditions in the extension of credit to the farmers of this country, and who are interested in upbuilding our great agricultural resources, and in encouraging that intelligent element of our citizenry who are now upon the farms (and those in the already overcrowded civic centers who would gladly follow agricultural pursuits under more favorable conditions) have sought to devise a plan, businesslike, safe, practical, easily attainable, and mutually beneficial to lender and borrower, whereby we can accomplish that which has so greatly stimulated agricultural production in other great countries.

It is my purpose now to ask the indulgence of my colleagues while I discuss with you a plan which I hope will receive the consideration that I know you have generously given to all legislation involving the welfare of the farmers of this country, and which will necessitate a comparison of the bill I have introduced with those known as the Bulkley-Hollis bill and the Fletcher-Moss bill.

Before entering upon this discussion of land-mortgage banks, however, I wish to correct certain misunderstandings and mistaken impressions which seem to exist in the minds of many of those who are interested in this subject. These misunderstandings are, in my judgment, largely due to a failure to define and distinguish the terms commonly used. Some of these terms I shall now attempt to strictly define and distinguish.

The term "land-mortgage bank" is itself not clearly understood as distinguished from institutions providing for personal credit to the farmers, and in its strictest sense the term "bank" in this connection is misleading. Strictly speaking, a pure "land-mortgage bank" is not a bank at all in the common acceptance of the term. It is an institution or organization designed for the purpose of enabling the individual farmer to borrow money, secured by a mortgage on his farm, from a distant investor or from the general public at the lowest interest rate and on the best terms. It is the means or instrumentality by and through which the farmer can place and sell his long-term mortgage loans. It is the machinery for creating, securing, handling, and selling the mortgage loans of the individual farmer and at the same time for protecting the holder of these loans by seeing that the money loaned is used in the improvement of the farm by assuring the title to the land, the validity of the mortgage, and the value of the security behind the mortgage, and by guaranteeing to the investor the prompt payment of principal and interest of the loan as they mature. By doing these things for many farmers at the same time it can be done at a minimum of expense. The land-mortgage bank could more properly be called the land-mortgage security and brokerage company. It handles farm-mortgage securities, guarantees their payment, and acts as broker in placing and selling them.

The picture of a land-mortgage bank brought before the mind's eye of the average man involves a handsome bank building with a large force of bookkeepers. The strict land-mortgage bank needs nothing of the kind. Its business in an

average county could be conducted by one paid employee at a nominal salary, at a small desk in a corner of his sitting room or office. Only a small part of his time would be required after the bank was in full operation.

It is evident that in consequence the cost of operating a strict land-mortgage bank is extremely small. In so far as these banks are permitted to transact any of the ordinary banking functions in the bill which I will discuss, it is believed that the additional expense will be offset by the additional profits from this branch of the business.

Having defined a land-mortgage bank in its strict sense, I now want to emphasize the distinction between ordinary commercial banks and land-mortgage banks, so as to further clarify the argument I will make.

The commercial bank is the exact antithesis of the land-mortgage bank. The operation of the one is an exact reversal of the operation of the other. The commercial bank brings together the cash of the community and sells that cash for credit. The land-mortgage bank brings together the credit of the community and sells that credit for cash. The commercial bank pools the money of the community and sells it for interest-bearing notes or bonds. The land-mortgage bank pools the interest-bearing notes or bonds of the community and sells them for cash.

I will emphasize and elaborate this distinction later on in my argument; but this statement alone should serve to indicate that the two systems of banking, being in direct antithesis, should be kept separate as far as possible.

Mr. CARLIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. HOWARD. For a question.

Mr. CARLIN. I want to inquire if it is your purpose to offer an amendment to the pending bill?

Mr. HOWARD. My purpose is to impress upon the House the great merit of the bill that I have had the honor to introduce myself as compared with the bills introduced by other people.

Mr. Chairman, on the 19th of December the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BULKLEY], who is chairman of the subcommittee in charge of the rural credit bill, delivered a most able argument before this body in advocacy of the bill recommended by his committee and introduced by him in the House last May as H. R. 16478 and in the Senate by Senator HOLLIS as S. 5542.

In the argument made by Mr. BULKLEY he discussed at great length and with marked ability the question of governmental support of land-mortgage banks, drawing the distinction between the various kinds of support which the Government might give to these institutions, and showing very conclusively to my mind that no open-minded citizen can question the wisdom of certain kinds of governmental support; while certain other kinds might be ground for a decided difference of opinion. [Applause.]

In this speech Mr. BULKLEY referred to the bill recommended by the United States Commission on Agricultural Credits, introduced in the House by Mr. Moss of Indiana and in the Senate by Senator FLETCHER, of Florida.

In discussing this question of land-mortgage banks, and in presenting for your consideration the arguments which seem to me conclusive as to the value of the general plan outlined in the bill which I have presented I shall go into detail as little as possible, and only so far as is necessary to bring out the few important points which I think merit attention.

The bill which I have introduced is, to a large extent, similar to the Fletcher-Moss bill except in its provisions for a central bank and for ultimate mutualization.

#### FLETCHER-MOSS BILL.

The Fletcher-Moss bill provides for a system of independent banking, each bank being allowed to do a State-wide business, and each bank being allowed to sell its debentures against the first mortgages taken by it.

Under the Fletcher-Moss bill a given number of persons can organize a bank and do business all over the State in which the bank is organized, lending money on lands anywhere in that State and selling the debentures of the bank under certain regulations and restrictions, such debentures being issued against the mortgages held by the bank. Each bank is an independent unit, and each bank is operated independently of any other bank except for the supervisory control exercised by the governmental department provided for that purpose. While the provision is made in the Fletcher-Moss bill for cooperative institutions, the real theory of that bill seems to be that the ground on which the establishment of these institutions is to be hoped for is the purely selfish ground of large returns to the investor.



## BULKLEY-HOLLIS BILL.

On the other hand, the Bulkley-Hollis bill does not provide for the establishment of independent banks. It provides for the establishment of a banking system, consisting of local institutions, known as "National Farm Loan Associations," to make direct loans to the farmers who are stockholders of the association, and limited in their operations to the farm loan district in which the association is situated. The mortgages secured by the local farm-loan association are thereupon to be indorsed by it and forwarded to a larger institution known as a "Federal land bank." These Federal land banks are to each operate over a district comprising several States, the theory being apparently that there should be about as many Federal land banks as there are now Federal reserve banks in our national banking system. The mortgages forwarded by a local association to its Federal land bank are used by the Federal land bank as security for land-bank bonds issued by the Federal land bank, each issue of such bonds being guaranteed by all of the 12 Federal land banks provided for in the system.

## HOWARD BILL.

My bill provides for a local farm-land bank, limited in its operations to a county, which lends the money to the farmer, taking a first mortgage for the same. This local land bank then indorses or guarantees the mortgage and sends it to a State land bank, whose operations are confined to that State and who can then itself indorse or guarantee the mortgages and send them on to the United States land bank or central bank. This central bank can take the mortgages from a given State so guaranteed by a local bank and by a State bank, and against these mortgages can issue land-bank bonds of the central bank and sell the same. The central bank alone has the power to issue and sell these debenture bonds or land-bank bonds, secured by mortgages on farm lands which have been indorsed by the local bank and by the State bank.

## LOCAL, STATE, AND CENTRAL BANKS.

Under my bill the local bank, with a minimum capital of \$10,000, is owned and controlled locally and is limited in its loans to the county where it is located. As many banks as are desired can be established in a given county. All of these banks have exactly the same facilities for obtaining money for the farmers on advantageous terms. They can purchase first mortgages and guarantee the payment of the same to the extent of fifteen times their capital and surplus. These mortgages, when so guaranteed and sent to the State bank, are in turn by it guaranteed and sent to the central bank. The State bank can guarantee mortgages—which are first guaranteed by the local banks—to the extent of one hundred times the capital and surplus of the State banks. The State bank, in turn, guarantees these mortgages—all guaranteed by local banks—and forwards them to the central bank, which alone can issue and sell debentures against the same.

## PROFITS ALL GO TO LOCAL BANKS.

The stockholders of the local banks under my bill have a double liability, as in national banks, and their dividends are restricted to 6 per cent. The State bank is owned by the local banks in that State, each of which is required to contribute 20 per cent of its capital and surplus to the purchase of stock in the State bank. Each local and State bank is required to contribute 10 per cent of its capital and surplus toward the purchase of stock in the central bank. The result is that all the profits of the central bank, after a fair surplus has been created, go to the State and local banks, and all the profits of the State bank, after a fair surplus has been created, go to the local banks. Thus all the profits of the entire system come back to the local banks.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Will the gentleman yield right there?

Mr. HOWARD. With pleasure.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. I understand you provide one bank in each county, or as many banks as the business would justify in each county, and that there would be under your bill only one bank in the State?

Mr. HOWARD. One State bank.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. And then only one great central bank in the United States?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. To control all the business going down the line to the local community?

Mr. HOWARD. Let me explain to the gentleman. I think I can make that clear. The county bank and the State bank take stock in the central bank, thereby owning the central bank. In other words, the contribution of 20 per cent of the capital stock in these banks in the central bank and 10 per cent in the State banks make the county banks own the State banks, and

then, in turn, the State banks in the 48 States in the Union own the central bank. Therefore the entire system is controlled, as the gentleman can see, by the small banks in the counties.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. So there would be a mutuality of interests running from the county banks to the central bank?

Mr. HOWARD. Absolutely. How much time have I consumed, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has consumed 20 minutes.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. I thank the gentleman very much for his courtesy.

Mr. MURRAY. I apprehend the purpose of this interlocking system of banks is to sell the bonds easily and to give them credit?

Mr. HOWARD. Absolutely. In other words, if the farmers expect to get cheap credit in this country, there is but one way to do it, and that is to make the security of that farmer, by a collection of all of the credit of the farmers of the country, brought together in one great central institution, as good as a municipal bond, a State bond, or a Government bond itself. To give you an illustration, yesterday the bonds of the land-mortgage banks in Germany and France were selling for  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent more, so it was stated in a daily paper that I saw, than the bonds of the Governments of Germany and France.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOWARD. With pleasure. I wish I had time to yield to all of my colleagues on this particular subject, because I would like to answer any questions and hear any criticism that they might have to make of the bill.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. Do I understand my colleague to say that the profits are limited to 6 per cent?

Mr. HOWARD. The dividends they can declare as a profit. But that makes no difference. In other words, we do not allow a dividend declared over 6 per cent; but what difference does it make about the dividend? All of the profits eventually are owned by the farmers themselves. Now, I want to say this—

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield for a short question as to the European banks? I would like to know if they have Government aid?

Mr. HOWARD. The only aid they get from the Government, as I understand it, is of the character of bringing the man who has the money and the man that wants to borrow the money together. Some of them do put up a certain amount of money.

Mr. SUMNERS. Will the gentleman yield for a suggestion?

Mr. HOWARD. With pleasure.

Mr. SUMNERS. The suggestion is that the gentleman had better proceed with his manuscript, as he has but a little more time left.

Mr. HOWARD. Now, gentlemen, if you will pardon me, I will adopt the suggestion of my good friend from Texas [Mr. SUMNERS] and try to get down to at least the gist of what I am driving at.

## HOW PROFITS ULTIMATELY GO TO FARMER BORROWERS.

The stockholders in the local banks only receive 6 per cent dividends on their investment. The balance of the profits of the local banks, representing the profits of the entire system, are used to create a fair surplus, and thereafter the profits are used to buy in from the stockholders of the local bank at par the stock owned by them which is thereupon canceled. Thereafter the profits of the local bank, representing the profits of the entire system, are annually distributed back to the borrowers from the bank; thus making the system eventually a mutual one and giving to the borrowers the benefit of the profits of the system. In this way the profits of the system redound to the benefit of the borrowers and serve to reduce the rate of interest which they must pay for their loans.

Under my bill provision is made limiting the profits which the system of banks can make on any specific loan. The farmer borrower can not be required to pay a rate of interest exceeding by more than 1 per cent the rate at which the central bank sells its debentures. This 1 per cent must represent the profit and pay the expense of operation of the local bank, the State bank, and the central bank.

Now, that is 1 per cent, and by way of parenthesis I want to say this: That sounds like a very little bit of profit. The minimum amount of expense incurred by the land-mortgage banks of Europe has been fifteen one-hundredths of 1 per cent. The maximum amount that these systems have ever cost in Europe has been sixty-two one-hundredths of 1 per cent.

Now, when you take into consideration the fact that the country bank can issue bonds of 15 times its capacity, or \$150,000, one-half of 1 per cent, which they will eventually get on that amount, alone equals  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent to the local bank. The State bank can issue one hundred times its capital. Therefore if a State bank in the State of Missouri or in the State of



Kentucky has a capitalization of a million dollars, under the provisions of this bill it could guarantee land-mortgage bonds to the extent of \$100,000,000.

Therefore you can see what their profit would be at one-fourth of 1 per cent; so that the profit, although it is divided between three holders of stock—the county bank, the State bank, and the central bank—and two-quarters go to the State bank and the central bank and one-half goes to the county bank, yet the profits of the entire system come back eventually to the original borrower.

Mr. J. M. C. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman pardon me for a question?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. J. M. C. SMITH. How do you arrive at 15 per cent and 150 per cent?

Mr. HOWARD. It is not 150 per cent; it is 15 per cent. I am glad the gentleman asked that question, because I would like to make myself clear on it. For instance, the small bank in your county gets up \$10,000 and joins this organization. They are allowed to guarantee \$150,000 worth of mortgages, upon which they are allowed ultimately one-half of 1 per cent profit.

Mr. J. M. C. SMITH. That is when the system gets to working?

Mr. HOWARD. They do that every year.

Mr. J. M. C. SMITH. Why is not the small bank allowed to do the same thing?

Mr. HOWARD. The reason for that is this: The small bank issues fifteen times its capital. The reason why they are allowed to issue anything more—there is a double liability—the reason why they are allowed to issue the capital stock they have got is because they have behind each loan full value. In fact, only 50 per cent of the value of the loan is accepted.

Mr. J. M. C. SMITH. I am very much obliged to the gentleman. He will excuse me for interrupting him.

Mr. HOWARD. I was glad to yield. Now I will try to get along.

In the bill this whole plan is worked out in detail, and it is submitted that the system could be promptly and easily organized and would be specially suited to the needs of our farmers.

#### SENTIMENT AGAINST A CENTRAL BANK.

I recognize that there is some sentiment among the American people, and particularly among the members of the dominant party, against a central bank. This sentiment was strongly developed when we were attempting to reform our currency laws, and many people seem now to think that the country will be opposed to a central bank in agricultural banking.

I can not help but believe, however, that any fear of opposition to a central bank in agricultural banking is unjustified, and that such opposition, if there is any, will promptly disappear upon a consideration of the principles which must control a system of land banks.

The whole theory of the land bank is to give to the individual borrower the benefit of the collective credit of the community, so as to secure for this individual farmer borrower a loan on the best terms and at the lowest interest rate.

I take it that no one will question the fact that the borrower who offers the best and most liquid security will receive the lowest interest rate and the most favorable terms. If this is true, then it follows that the best system of agricultural banking will be the system which offers to the investor a land bond secured in the best manner and having the widest market.

#### REASONS AGAINST A CENTRAL BANK IN COMMERCIAL BANKING.

Commercial banking consists in gathering together the cash of the community and using this collective cash to meet the needs of the community. A central bank in commercial banking is feared, because the cash resources of all the communities might be brought together into a central bank, to the detriment of some of the communities. The control of this collection of the cash resources of all the communities in the country might be dangerous if not properly exercised. The centralization of the cash resources of the country has been feared, because we all know that the man who controls the actual money of the country can largely control the business of the country, and the centralization of a large portion of the cash might offer to the individuals controlling the central institution too vast a power and too great an opportunity to enrich themselves at the expense of the general public. The danger in centralizing the cash resources exists because of the power which any man must have who controls the cash resources.

#### REASON FOR A CENTRAL BANK IN AGRICULTURAL BANKING.

Now, agricultural banking is an entirely different proposition. Land banks are not formed to gather the cash resources of the community and then lend out this cash, but exactly the re-

verse is true. They are intended to bring together the credit resources of the community, and, by combining these credit resources, to borrow from investors, on the best terms and at the lowest interest rate, money for the use of the individual in that community. The individual, with a farm in Georgia, is unable to borrow money locally except at high interest rates and on burdensome conditions. He can not borrow in New York or elsewhere, because his security is not known. But if the Georgia farmer can combine his credit resources with those of his neighbors and have his note or obligation guaranteed by a local bank, then by a State bank, and then by a central bank, the investor will be satisfied with the security offered and will be willing to lend money at lower rates and on advantageous terms.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LEE of Georgia. Does my colleague desire a little additional time?

Mr. HOWARD. I would like a little more time.

Mr. LEE of Georgia. I yield to the gentleman 10 minutes.

Mr. HOWARD. I thank the gentleman. I certainly appreciate it.

Mr. CALLAWAY. I want to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. HOWARD. If the gentleman will permit me, I think I have everything in this speech except the applause. [Laughter.]

Mr. MURRAY. And the votes.

Mr. HOWARD. Within 10 minutes I think I can finish my argument, and at the end of that time I will be very glad to yield to my good friend from Texas.

#### NO DANGER OF INORDINATE POWER OR CONTROL IN A CENTRAL BANK IN AGRICULTURAL BANKING.

To speak of exercising any control or power over the farmers because of the existence of a central bank, as planned in my bill, seems to me to be absurd. If that bill were in effect, the investor in New York or Chicago might own a \$1,000 bond issued by the central bank, due 30 or 35 years after its date. That bond would be secured by mortgages on Georgia farms, each guaranteed by a local bank in Georgia and by a Georgia State bank. These mortgages would likewise be due in 30 or 35 years, and would each contain an amortization provision providing for their gradual retirement by periodic payments. That is to say, that the Georgia farmer who paid \$30 or \$35 every 6 months for 30 years would have paid off not only the interest but the principal of his debt at the end of the term. How is it conceivable that the investor, holding the land-bank bond of the central bank, could exercise any influence over the Georgia farmer, whose mortgage falls due 30 years from date and who by paying \$30 every 6 months will have paid off the mortgage of \$1,000, both as to principal and interest, by the time the mortgage matures?

#### DISTINCT ADVANTAGES OF A CENTRAL BANK.

On the other hand, by providing for a central bank the individual farmer is given the benefit—

First. Of the collective credit of the community, as represented by the guaranty of his mortgage by the local bank.

Second. The collective credit of the farm-land banks of the State, as represented by the guaranty of his mortgage by the State bank.

Third. The collective credit of the farm-land banks of the Nation, as represented by the guaranty of his mortgage by the central bank.

Each farmer borrower, no matter where he may be, will get the benefit of the collective credit of his community, of the collective credit of the farm-land banks of his State, and of the collective credit of the farm-land banks of the Nation, as represented by the central bank. Can there be any question that, as a consequence, he will be able to obtain money on the best terms and at the lowest interest rates?

The Fletcher-Moss bill, with its system of independent banks, would not give him these advantages. While that bill does not limit the number of banks in any given State, let us assume that only one bank was established under that bill in each State. This would establish 48 banks, each offering their debentures for sale and competing in the money markets of the world for investment money. The investor would have to decide as to the comparative merits of the debentures issued by the bank in Georgia and the debentures issued by the bank in Illinois. Each State bank would be absolutely independent of all the others. Would not the result necessarily be that the States where farm lands are already most highly developed would be benefited to a much greater extent than those where help is most needed? Would not the investor naturally prefer the land-bank bonds of a thickly settled State where farm-land values were higher? And it must be remembered that the purpose of rural banking is not simply to help the man who is already able to help him-



self. Its purpose is as well, and principally, to help the small farmer who is not able to help himself.

INDEPENDENT BANKS WOULD SEEK THE LARGER COMMUNITIES AND WOULD LEND ONLY IN WELL-DEVELOPED SECTIONS.

Moreover, under the Fletcher-Moss bill it would seem to me that in a given State the banks would be established at large centers and would be disposed to lend only on lands in the well-developed sections of the State. Being allowed to do business anywhere in the State, and being organized purely on the basis of returns—except in cases of cooperative institutions—would they not naturally gravitate to the larger centers and lend their money only in the well-developed and populous sections of the State instead of using their resources to make small loans and build up the waste places?

THE SMALL LOCALITY CARED FOR UNDER THE HOWARD BILL.

Under my bill the limit of operations of any local bank is the county. The local bank is owned, controlled, and operated by local people. It is organized by them for the purpose of improving local conditions. The double liability on the stockholders will insure care in making loans, as will the other restrictions provided. The officers of the bank can readily see to the application of the loans because the loans are made to their neighbors. Their transactions will probably be small transactions. Their loans will be made to the small farmer, but through the system of State banks and of central banks and by means of the plan of guaranties the small farmer borrowing \$100 on his land can get the benefit of the collective credit of the whole system and can secure his loan on the most advantageous terms.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. LEVER. I yield five minutes more to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to impose on the committee any longer, but I do want to present just a little comparison of the bill of my distinguished friend [Mr. BULKLEY].

UNREASONABLE DIVISION OF COUNTRY INTO FEDERAL LAND-BANK DISTRICTS BY BULKLEY-HOLLIS BILL.

The Bulkley-Hollis bill, in effect, provides for a guaranty of the individual loan by the collective resources of the country, because it makes each of the 12 Federal land banks responsible for all land-bank bonds issued by any of the 12. I submit, with great deference, that the proposed subdivision of the country into Federal land-bank districts along the lines of the Federal reserve act is purely arbitrary and is not founded on either reason or experience. This subdivision into 12 districts in commercial banking was based on the currents of trade and the movements of business within a given area. No such reason exists in agricultural banking, and the division of the country into 12 Federal land-bank districts for agricultural purposes does not seem to me to be justified.

REASON FOR STATE LAND BANKS UNDER HOWARD BILL.

On the other hand, there is a distinct reason for having State banks limited in operation to the confines of one State.

Our laws in regard to land registration, conveyancing, mortgaging, and foreclosure are State laws controlled absolutely by the States. Unfortunately, these laws vary in the different States. The Federal Government can not change them. The forms of deeds and of mortgages and the methods of foreclosure in adjoining States are often entirely different. The whole problem of land banking is the sale, on advantageous terms and at low interest rates, of farm mortgages. It is natural that in any system the mortgages from one State should be guaranteed by a State bank limited in its operations to that State. It is natural and wise that the mortgages should come from the locality where the land is situated, guaranteed by the local bank to the State institution, and should pass from the State institution, after being guaranteed by it, to the central institution.

Again, the Bulkley-Hollis bill limits the interest rate which can be charged the farmer to the legal interest rate in the State where the land is located. The legal rate of interest in the States of the Union varies widely, and yet the mortgages in the State where the legal rate is 8 per cent are used by the Federal land bank as the basis for land-bank bonds just exactly as are the mortgages in a State where the legal rate is 6 per cent, and in all cases the land-bank bonds issued by one Federal land bank are guaranteed by all the other Federal land banks. The Bulkley-Hollis bill apparently encourages a continuation of the present widely divergent legal interest rates. It offers very small hope to the farmers of a State where the legal rate is high that that rate will be reduced.

Mr. BULKLEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOWARD. With pleasure.

Mr. BULKLEY. The gentleman should not overlook the limitation that is contained in the Bulkley-Hollis bill, that the land bank and the local organization together shall get only 1 per cent per annum, exactly the same limitation that is contained in the gentleman's bill.

Mr. HOWARD. That is true; but you do allow a bank to charge the legal rate of interest within the State, and it can not be more than 1 per cent above that, as I understand it.

Mr. BULKLEY. We allow the local association, which is composed exclusively of borrowers, the same as the gentleman proposes, to charge what it may deem necessary for its own safety; but it can not keep any of that money as profits, but must return it to the borrowers if there are no losses.

Mr. HOWARD. Less 1 per cent.

Mr. BULKLEY. Exactly the same as is proposed by the gentleman.

Mr. HOWARD. On the other hand, my bill and the Fletcher-Moss bill both provide that the rate charged to the farmer shall not exceed the interest rate on the land-bank bonds by more than 1 per cent. Experience has demonstrated in European countries that this is the wisest way in which to secure the best results to the farmer. My bill goes beyond this and holds out to the farmer a hope of further reduction in his interest rate, because the profits of the entire system of banks, after paying the interest and principal of the investment, are to be annually distributed among the borrowers themselves.

SHOULD RURAL BANKING BE CONTROLLED BY FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD?

The Bulkley-Hollis bill provides for the supervision and control of the system by the existing Federal Reserve Board. My bill and the Fletcher-Moss bill provide for separate boards. In my own judgment a separate board is wise, because I do not believe that agricultural banking and commercial banking should be too closely commingled. The plan of the one is practically a reversal of the other. Commercial banking collects cash and lends it out. Agricultural banking collects credit and sells it.

THE STRIKING ADVANTAGE OF THE HOWARD BILL.

But whether the system to be inaugurated is to be controlled by the Federal Reserve Board or by an independent body I still urge that a central bank in agricultural banking is extremely desirable, and that the best results can not be obtained for the individual farmer, except by giving him the benefit of the collective farming credit of the country when he wishes to obtain a loan. I still maintain that loans should be made by local banks within a limited area where the people who own and control the bank know the land, know the borrower, know the needs of the borrower, and can personally see to the application of the loan. I still maintain that with the small local bank, limited in its operations to a county, paying a fair dividend of 6 per cent to its stockholders, with the prospect that the money invested in the institution will ultimately be paid back to the stockholders and that the rates of interest on loans will constantly decrease, the best results can be obtained. I maintain that the system proposed in my bill will appeal to the local pride and patriotism of the farmer himself. It will offer him the opportunity of helping himself and of helping his community at no risk to himself. It will afford to the small and sparsely settled community the same advantages as to the large and rich agricultural section. It will tend to bring about uniformity in land registration, conveyancing, mortgaging, and foreclosure. It will tend to bring about uniformity in interest rates, and lower interest rates.

THE FARMERS SHOULD CONTROL THE RURAL BANKS.

In addition, any great reform that hopes to be successful must usually start at the bottom. I believe that the reform in agricultural banking should start with the local bank organized by the local farmer for his own benefit and for the benefit of his neighbors. If the farmers want a rural banking system, they must operate it themselves. Under my bill the farmers would own the local banks, and through the local banks would own the State banks and the central bank. All the profits of all the institutions would go to the farmers. All the institutions would be controlled by the farmers. The farmers who provide the money for the capital of the banks would receive 6 per cent and would ultimately get back their investments. The balance of the profits would be used to reduce the interest rates to borrowers, and in every case each borrower would get the benefit of the collective credit of the entire system to help him secure money on the best terms and at the lowest rate.

CONCLUSIONS.

Mr. Chairman, I shall not attempt to discuss my bill in any great detail or to make any extended comparison of the separate sections of the bills referred to. I wish to emphasize the impor-



tance of a central bank in any system of agricultural banking; the importance of basing a system of agricultural banks on local institutions limited in their operations to a small area and owned and controlled by local people. I wish to emphasize the necessity of limiting in some practical way the rates of interest which can be charged on farm loans, and of providing that the profits from the system shall redound to the interest of the borrower who makes these profits possible, after returning to the investor the amount of his investment and a reasonable dividend thereon. I do not believe that a system of independent farm-land banks is what this country needs, as outlined in the Fletcher-Moss bill. I can not see any reason for the arbitrary division of the country into Federal land-bank districts, as provided in the Buckley-Hollis bill. I believe the natural and proper subdivision in land-banking is the county, the State, and the Nation. I believe that each borrower should be given the benefit of the collective credit of the whole system, and I believe that the borrower should, as far as possible, participate in the profits which he turns over to the system.

I believe the system should be one which will take care of the small landowner, and which will enable the tenant farmer to become the owner of his farm. A system must be provided which will not make it to the interest of the banks to lend to the well-to-do man or in the well-developed section. It must be a system which offers equal advantages to all and special privileges to none. It must be a system which will tend to build up the waste places of the country, and which will help the small farmer who now can get no help. It must be a system operated primarily in the interest of the farmer borrower, and the profits from the system should be used to better his condition and to lower his burdens. I believe that my bill in its plan more nearly provides for the attainment of these needs than any other bill that has yet been presented; and I respectfully submit that, whatever changes in its details may be advisable, the general principle of a central bank to issue and sell debentures, based on State banks and on county banks, and offering the collective credit of the whole system for the benefit of each individual borrower, is the advisable system for this country. I believe that the rate to be charged the farmer should be limited, not according to the legal rate in the State but by a maximum charge over and above the rate which the bank issuing land bonds has to pay the investor.

The provisions of the bill as to the business to be transacted by each of the banks, as to the supervision and control of the same by the Federal Government, and as to all the details of operation, have been carefully worked out, and will, I believe, receive favorable consideration, as they are fully understood. I believe that the bill is correct in its basic principle, because it enables each farmer to get the benefit of the collective credit of all the farming population; because it permits only one central bank to issue land-bank bonds, thereby tending to standardize the same, and tending toward greater uniformity in interest rates to farmers throughout the country; because it removes competition between individual banks representing different States and sections for investment of money, which must mean higher interest rates for the farmer; and because the system of banking outlined in this bill starts with the farmer and ends with the farmer. He controls the local bank, the State bank, and the central bank. He can not be ousted from the control. He gets the profits. He manages the system and must himself suffer if he mismanages. The system is based on co-operative action of the farmers. If they want improved facilities, they can get them. If they do not want them, they do without. Their personal interest, their work, their money, and their credit must be enlisted. Without these, no system will succeed. Agricultural banks must be owned and run by the farmer in order to succeed—and this is what is provided for in the bill I have introduced. [Applause.]

DETAILED REVIEW OF BILL H. R. 12746.

The general plan of the bill which I introduced in the House of Representatives on January 31, 1914 (H. R. 12746) involves:

1. The creation in the Treasury Department of a division of farm-land banking, to be under the general direction and charge of a farm-land banking board, composed of the Secretary of the Treasury, as chairman, Secretary of Agriculture, and the Comptroller of the Currency, the work of the division to be under the direct charge of a director of farm-land banking, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and who shall serve for five years and be eligible for reappointment. The salary of the director is placed at \$7,500, and an assistant director at \$6,000 per year is provided for. The director of farm-land banking is authorized to employ the necessary clerks and assistants, and is required to make an annual report to Congress in regard to farm-land banks. The salaries and operating expenses of the farm-land banking board

and of the director of farm-land banking, his assistants and employees, are to be provided for in the appropriation for the Treasury Department.

The general duties of the farm-land banking board are to formulate and adopt rules and regulations governing the operations for farm-land banks, and these rules and regulations are to be enforced by the director of farm-land banks. Provision is made that the rules and regulations shall be adopted and the directors shall be appointed within 90 days after the passage of the act.

Power is given to the division of farm-land banking, upon the recommendation of the director, to issue charters for local and State national farm-land banks, as provided for in the act; to exercise supervision and control over all farm-land banks established under the act, under general rules and regulations and under like general rules to withdraw or forfeit the charters of local and State farm-land banks or liquidate them when necessary.

Power is also given the division of farm-land banking, by general rules and regulations, to specify the conditions under which the privileges, or certain of them, authorized in the act shall be extended to local and State farm-land banks, and to provide for the extension of such privileges, or certain of them, only to those local and State farm-land banks operating in those States which have met the requirements of the division of farm-land banking as to the simplification of land-title registration and conveyancing; as to simplification and economy of methods of securing farm loans and foreclosing the same; as to the removal of any taxation upon mortgages; and as to the removal or waiver of any exemptions in regard to farm mortgages.

2. The creation of a system of national farm-land banks, comprising:

- (a) Local banks, such as "Doeville National Farm Land Bank," limited in their operations to a county or other small political subdivision of the State.

- (b) State banks, such as "Virginia National Farm Land Bank," limited in their operations to a given State, and acting as a clearing house and reserve agent for the local banks in that State.

- (c) A central bank, to be known as the "United States National Farm Land Bank," to act as a clearing house and reserve agent for all the State and local farm-land banks, and to alone issue and sell collateral trust bonds or national land-bank bonds. These national land-bank bonds will be the obligations of the central bank, issued against the deposit of mortgages or deeds of trust on farm lands at not more than 50 per cent of the appraised value of such lands, when the lands are improved, and at not more than 40 per cent of the appraised value of other farm lands. The mortgages or deeds of trust, before being used by the central bank as collateral security for its national farm-land bonds, must be in each case guaranteed both as to principal and interest by the local bank of the county or other subdivision where the land is located, and must be then likewise guaranteed by the State bank of that State. Moreover, all such mortgages or deeds of trust must contain a mandatory provision for the repayment of the principal by the amortization plan; that is, by the payment, annually or semiannually, of small amounts on account of the principal, which payments will be sufficient to pay off the mortgages or deeds of trust at their maturity.

The general powers incident to corporations are given to all farm-land banks, including the right to continue for 50 years and reserving the right of change, amendment, or repeal of the charters so granted by Congress, provided that the rights of creditors of such banks are not affected by such action.

The bill enumerates certain general provisions applicable to all farm-land banks, as follows:

1. The capital stock, the income derived therefrom, the mortgages held by said banks, and the national land-bank bonds issued by the central bank are exempted from all taxation.

2. Every bank is prohibited from lending money upon the stock of any other farm-land bank, and no bank is allowed to lend to any one individual more than 20 per cent of its capital and surplus; but this latter provision does not apply to the guaranty of real-estate loans of local and State banks.

3. Each director is required to take a proper oath for the faithful performance of his duties.

4. Examinations by the directors are required by each bank at least once every three months.

5. Examinations of the affairs of each bank by examiners appointed by the director of farm-land banking are provided for substantially as examinations of national banks are provided for under the Federal reserve act.



6. In the case of every farm-land bank the director of farm-land banking is required at the time of organization to designate some individual who is not an officer or director of the bank and who is not objectionable to the directors as Federal fiduciary agent, to be the representative in that bank of the division of farm-land banking.

The duties of this Federal fiduciary agent are specifically defined at great length in the case of local and State banks as well as in the case of the central bank. This agent practically acts as the Government representative to see that the requirements of law are complied with as regards farm-land loans:

A. In the case of local banks this agent is required—

(1) To certify that each mortgage or deed of trust is properly recorded and that the same is a first mortgage, and to certify that each note or bond purporting to be secured under such mortgage or deed of trust is so secured.

(2) To have joint possession or control with the local bank of all amortization payments or payments on the principal of mortgages held by the banks so long as such payments remain in the possession of the banks, and to see that proper credits are made upon the mortgages or deeds of trust when such principal payments are received. No disposition of such amortization or principal payments can be made without his consent in writing.

(3) To have supervisory control over all entries in the mortgage ledger where a detailed statement of all mortgages held by the bank as an evidence of long-term loans is kept.

B. In the case of State banks—

(1) To have joint possession and control with the bank of the mortgages sent to the State bank by the local bank after being guaranteed by the local bank.

(2) To have joint possession and control with the State bank of all amortization payments coming into its possession from the local banks. Such amortization payments made on mortgages sent by the local bank to the State bank must be forwarded by the local bank to the State bank.

(3) To have supervisory control of the mortgage ledger kept by the State bank.

C. In the case of the central bank—

(1) To certify to each collateral trust bond or national land-bank bond issued by the central bank against mortgages deposited with it, which mortgages have previously been guaranteed by a local and a State bank.

(2) To have joint possession and control of the mortgages held by the central bank, each of which has been guaranteed by a local and State bank. No mortgages can be withdrawn or changed without his consent in writing.

(3) To have joint control with the central bank of the amortization payments on such mortgages. These amortization payments are forwarded from the State bank to the central bank when the mortgages on which they are made are held by the central bank as a security for national land-bank bonds. The amortization payment under this plan goes from the local bank to the State bank and from the State bank to the central bank, always resting with the last guarantor of the mortgage.

(4) To have supervisory control of all entries in the mortgage ledger kept by the central bank.

D. To perform such other duties as the director of farm-land banking may prescribe. The salary of each Federal fiduciary agent is fixed by the joint agreement of the bank and of the director of farm-land banking and is paid by the bank.

7. The seventh general provision for farm-land banks prescribes what real estate may be purchased, held, and conveyed. The requirements are the same as in the case of national banks.

8. The eighth general provision, relating to farm-land banks, prescribes that the par value of the stock shall be \$100 per share. The provisions regarding the stock are substantially the same as in the case of national banks, except that no person can vote in person or by proxy more than 10 per cent of the outstanding stock at any stockholders' meeting.

9. The ninth general provision provides for an increase of capital for any bank substantially as with national banks.

10. The tenth provision provides for a decrease of capital for any bank substantially as with national banks, except that no reduction can be made which will reduce the proportion that the capital and surplus of the bank bears to the outstanding guaranteed mortgages below the proportion provided by the act.

11. The eleventh general provision provides that the affairs of each local and State bank shall be managed by not less than five nor more than nine directors. It also specifies the requirements as to citizenship and residence of the directors, and requires that each director in a local bank must own at least two shares of stock; otherwise the provisions are substantially similar to those in the case of national banks.

12. The twelfth general provision provides for the election of president and vice presidents from the membership of the board.

13. The thirteenth general provision provides for double liability on the part of stockholders of local banks.

14. The fourteenth general provision defines this liability in the case of executors, and so forth, substantially as with national banks.

Sections 10 to 13, inclusive, provide for the incorporation of local banks by any number of natural persons not less than 10. It is specified that the name "National Farm Land Bank" shall be a part of the title of every local and State bank under this act, and that these words shall not be used by institutions other than those incorporated under the act. Local institutions are to be prefixed by a descriptive title and followed by the name of the county and State in which the bank is to operate. The other information to be contained in the articles of association is specifically outlined, and provision is made for acknowledging and filing the certificate.

It is provided that each local bank shall, upon being organized, have the following powers:

(1) To accept and pay interest on postal savings deposits and other time deposits from the National Government; to accept and pay interest on State time deposits, on time deposits of public funds, and on time deposits from individuals or corporations.

(2) This is the principal and distinguishing feature of the farm-land banks: To guarantee the payment of loans upon farm lands located within the county or other political subdivision in which such local bank is operated, provided—

(a) That such loans run for not less than five years.

(b) That such loans are secured by a first mortgage on farm lands located within such county, or are used to retire existing mortgages, so as to make them a first lien. Mortgages on lands outside of the county can be accepted as additional security, and provision is made for loans on land lying partly in two counties.

(c) That such loans do not exceed 50 per cent of the appraised value of productive farm lands or 40 per cent of the appraised value of other farm lands.

(d) That every such loan contain a mandatory provision for amortization by annual or semiannual payments.

(e) That every such loan may be paid off in whole or in part, upon reasonable notice, at any interest period, after such loan has continued for five years under rules prescribed by the division of rural banking.

The local banks are also authorized to sell and trade in mortgages guaranteed by it, and to invest its deposits in short-term farm loans, maturing within five years, which comply with the requirements of (b) and (c) next above. The local bank can also guarantee such short-time loans and sell, buy, and trade in the same.

The local bank can also use its capital stock, surplus, and deposits as a revolving fund for the temporary purchase or holding of long-term first-mortgage loans or short-term first-mortgage loans complying with the above requirements; or it can use the same for the purpose of buying and holding temporarily national land-bank bonds of the central bank, but the capital, surplus, and deposits can be permanently invested only in United States bonds, in bonds of the State in which the bank is located, or in other securities approved by the division of farm-land banking.

The local banks can also do such general banking business as is incident to the foregoing.

Section 14 provides certain limitations upon local banks, as follows:

(1) The local bank can guarantee long-term mortgages not exceeding fifteen times its capital and surplus and short-term mortgages not exceeding five times its capital and surplus.

(2) The capital and surplus of each bank are liable—

(a) For its guaranties on long-term mortgages.

(b) For its guaranties on short-term mortgages.

(c) For its deposits or other obligations.

This provision gives added strength to the long-term mortgages and discourages deposits except as an incident to mortgage loans.

(3) The administration charge or profit on long-term loans is limited to an annual charge of 1 per cent upon the amount unpaid on the loan. This entire 1 per cent may be retained by the local bank if the guaranteed loan is then sold. This encourages the securing of local investment in mortgages guaranteed by the local bank. If the mortgage, so guaranteed, is sent to the State bank, then one-half of this profit goes to the State bank for its guaranty. If the State bank guarantees the mortgage and sends it on to the central bank, then the State bank gets only one-fourth of the profit, the central bank gets one-fourth, and the local bank keeps one-half.



(4) The payments to be made by borrowers must, in all cases, be sufficient to pay the interest upon the loan, the administration charge or profit, and the amortization payments sufficient to retire the loan by the time it matures.

(5) Dividends to stockholders of local banks are limited to 6 per cent. Surplus earnings, after the payment of dividends, are used to create an earned surplus until the same is double the amount of paid-in capital. When the earned surplus is double the amount of paid-in capital, then the capital is bought in by the bank at par and paid for out of the surplus. Thereafter the earnings of the bank go to the depositors and borrowers in proportion to the business done under rules provided by the division of farm-land banking. This means the ultimate mutualization of the bank, the repayment to the stockholders of the money invested in the bank, and reduced interest rate to the farmer borrowers, for after the bank is mutualized the profits go to them. The farmer borrowers have created the surplus out of the interest charges which they have paid. The investor in the stock of the local bank has received 6 per cent on his investment, and the investment is tax free. When the surplus earnings are sufficient the investor in the stock receives back his money, and thereafter the farmer borrower gets the benefit of any profits.

The value of this provision can hardly be overestimated. It will insure to the investor a good return on his money and the ultimate repayment of his investment. It insures to the farmer constantly decreasing interest rates. It appeals to local pride and encourages safe and conservative management, because the farming population itself is ultimately to get the benefit of this management.

Section 15 provides for the appraisal committee, who are to appraise all property on which mortgage loans are made and are to make a written report.

Section 16 provides for insurance on any buildings upon the farm which are considered in the appraisal of the property on which a mortgage loan is made, and further provides that in appraising property for long-term loans buildings and destructible property shall not be valued at more than 20 per cent of the total appraisal.

Section 17 prohibits the operation of branches by local banks.

Section 18 provides for the conversion of existing land mortgage companies and other State institutions into local farm-land banks.

Section 19 authorizes local farm-land banks to receive on deposit postal-savings deposits, and to place as security for such deposits the national land-bank bonds issued against mortgages in the State where the local bank is situated. The local bank is authorized to buy these national farm-land bonds for the purpose of so using them.

This provision creates each local bank as a purchaser of the land-bank bonds issued by the central bank, and thereby helps to create a market for the national land-bank bonds. The purchase of these national land-bank bonds under this provision by the local bank does not exhaust its reserves materially, because such national land-bank bonds are immediately used as security for the deposit of postal-savings funds. In effect, the local banks obtain deposits of postal funds, and use these funds for the purchase of national land-bank bonds, which bonds are then placed as security for such deposits.

It is a serious question as to whether the Government should invest postal-savings funds directly in national farm-land bonds. Under this provision the Government simply deposits the postal-savings funds with the local banks and takes as security therefor the national land-bank bonds issued by the central bank. These national land-bank bonds must be issued against mortgages on lands in the State where the local bank is situated. These mortgages must be guaranteed by a local bank, and the assets of the local banks are primarily liable on this guaranty. The mortgages must then be guaranteed by the State bank and forwarded to the central bank. The central bank issues its land-bank bonds against these mortgages at par. The local bank can then buy these national land-bank bonds and deposit them as security for postal savings deposits with the local banks. The mortgages guaranteed by the local banks are being constantly reduced by amortization payments. As these mortgages are so reduced, the national land-bank bonds issued by the central bank are proportionately retired. The deposits of postal savings must be constantly secured by these national farm-land bonds at such figure or percentage as the postal savings trustees may decide.

Section 20 provides for the reserves to be held by local banks, and provides what proportion of such reserves may be held with the State bank or with the central bank.

Section 21 provides that each local bank upon its organization shall invest 10 per cent of its capital and surplus in stock

of the central bank and 20 per cent of its capital and surplus in stock of its State bank. The proportion of capital and surplus so invested must be always maintained, and the stock of the State and central banks so held by local banks must be held as a permanent investment and not sold, collateralized, or disposed of. This stock is to be carried on the books of the local bank at its book value.

By this means the farmers own the local banks, the local banks own the State banks, and the local and State banks own the central bank. Thereby all the profits of the entire system drain back in the local banks. These profits are used—

First. To pay a fair return of 6 per cent, free from tax, to the investors in the local bank;

Second. To repay the amount of their investment to such investors; and

Third. After this is done the profits of the local bank go to the borrowers and depositors from the local banks, thereby, in effect, reducing the rate of interest paid.

Section 22 provides for the organization of a State bank in each State as soon as 30 or more local banks have been organized in that State.

Section 23 outlines the details of such organization and the statements to be contained in the articles of association. The minimum capital is placed at \$60,000, which would be 20 per cent of the capital of 30 local banks each organized with the minimum capitalization of \$10,000.

Section 24 provides for the acknowledgment and preservation of the organization certificate.

Section 25 outlines the specific powers of State banks, as follows:

(1) To act as a clearing house for local banks in that State, to accept deposits from them, and pay the same rate of interest on all such deposits.

(2) To guarantee long-term loans as herein provided which have been first guaranteed by a local bank, provided that the amortization payments on such mortgages so guaranteed are turned over to the State bank, to be by it turned over to the central bank when the State bank sends on such mortgage guaranteed by it to the central bank.

(3) To rediscount short-term farm loans guaranteed by local banks having not more than two years to run; but the rate of rediscount must be the same to all local banks in the State. The State bank can hold such rediscounted short-term loans as a temporary investment, can sell the same with or without its indorsement, and afterwards buy back and resell the same.

(4) To use its capital stock, surplus, and deposits as a revolving fund for the temporary purchase or holding of long-term or short-term mortgage loans guaranteed by a local bank, and to use the same in buying in national land-bank bonds of the central bank. The capital and surplus can not be permanently invested in anything except United States bonds, bonds of the State in which the bank is located, or other securities approved by the division of farm-land banking.

(5) To exercise such general banking powers as are incident to the foregoing powers and to act as broker in selling short-term mortgage loans.

Section 26 outlines the limitations on State banks, as follows:

(1) The amount of long-term loans guaranteed by a State bank shall not exceed a hundred times its capital and surplus.

(2) The administration charge of the State bank for guaranteeing such long-term loans shall not exceed an annual charge of one-fourth of 1 per cent of the amount unpaid on the loan, another one-fourth going to the central bank.

(3) The commissions of the State bank for acting as broker in selling short-term loans and its rates of rediscount to local banks shall be subject to the supervision of the division of farm-land banking.

(4) The amount of short-term mortgage loans which can be guaranteed by a State bank shall not exceed five times its capital and surplus.

Section 27 provides for the investment of 10 per cent of the capital and surplus of the State bank in the capital stock of the central bank, as above outlined.

Section 28 provides for the election of directors for the State bank, each local bank having one vote. It also provides for the election by the local banks from the board of directors of a president and vice president for the State bank.

Section 29 provides for the reserves to be maintained by the State bank and provides what proportion of such reserve must be kept within its own vaults and where the balance may be kept.

Section 30 provides for branches of the State bank within the State and for the keeping of reciprocal accounts with other banks.



Section 31 incorporates the central bank under the name of "United States Farm Land Bank," with a capital of not less than a million dollars, and with the right of indefinite increase. Its principal place of business is fixed at Washington, and its charter continues for 50 years, with the right of renewal and subject to amendment or repeal by Congress, provided that the rights of creditors are not thereby affected.

Section 32 outlines the specific powers of the central bank, as follows:

(1) To act as a clearing house and reserve agent for State and local banks and to pay the same rate of interest on deposits from such banks. Also to receive postal savings and other governmental deposits.

(2) To have general banking powers, including the power to discount short-term farm loans for local banks, maturing within two years and guaranteed by State banks; to trade in short-term mortgage loans and paper guaranteed or indorsed by it; to buy and sell Government and State bonds; and to act as a broker in handling Government, State, county, municipal, and similar securities.

(3) To issue, sell, and trade in its national land-bank bonds provided—

a. That the mortgages against which such bonds are issued have been first guaranteed by a local and State bank.

b. That such mortgages comply with this act.

c. That its national land-bank bonds so issued are subject to call at par at any interest period or after a specified time (not longer than five years from date of issue) as may be provided in such bonds.

d. That such national land-bank bonds shall always be protected by the deposit of an equal amount in face value of first mortgages, maturing not less than five years after that date, and guaranteed by a local and State bank.

e. That all amortization payments on mortgages so held as security for such national land-bank bonds shall be forwarded to the central bank, held in the joint possession of the bank and the Federal fiduciary agent, and used in retiring its national land-bank bonds issued against such mortgages, so that the amount of national land-bank bonds shall never exceed the amount of the mortgages held as security therefor.

f. That as amortization payments are credited upon the mortgages a corresponding amount of national land-bank bonds shall be called in and paid.

g. That the mortgages held as security for such national land-bank bonds shall at all times be in the joint possession and under the joint control of the central bank and of the Federal fiduciary agent for said bank.

h. That the national land-bank bonds issued by the central bank shall be issued in series. All the national land-bank bonds of a given series must be secured by mortgages on lands in one State.

(This provision will enhance the selling value of the land-bank bonds, because the laws governing registration, foreclosure, exemption, etc., of the mortgages securing the same will be the same in the case of such mortgages and because each of such mortgages covers land in the same State.)

i. That no land-bank bonds shall be issued against a mortgage maturing earlier than five years after its date.

(This provision insures the issue of land-bank bonds only against mortgages containing an amortization requirement.)

(4) To use its capital stock, surplus, and deposits as a revolving fund for the temporary purchase or holding of mortgages guaranteed by a local and State bank until land-bank bonds can be issued against same; or to use its capital and surplus for trading in its national land-bank bonds, so as to maintain the price of the same; or to use them in rediscounting short-term mortgage loans guaranteed by a local and State bank, and maturing at not longer than two years, provided that such capital and surplus can only be permanently invested in United States Government securities.

(5) To act as a depository for the National Government, and particularly to receive deposits of postal savings funds and to invest the same or such portions of the same as it may by law be authorized to invest in Government, State, county, and municipal bonds, or in long-term, first-mortgage, farm bonds.

(6) To rediscount for national banking associations farm loans held by them, and to rediscount with such association short-term farm loans held by it which comply with the provisions of section 24 of the Federal reserve act. Such rediscount by a national banking association of short-term farm loans is to be considered and treated as a farm loan under section 24 of the Federal reserve act.

It seems probable that the farm loans authorized under section 24 of the Federal reserve act will probably be small in

number and amount, as a commercial bank will naturally not desire to tie up its funds in farm mortgages. This provision enables the commercial banks to rediscount for the central bank, taking short-term farm loans held by it, which have been guaranteed by a local and State bank, and treating these as loans under section 24 of the Federal reserve act. The practical effect of this will be to make available some of the funds in the national banks for the use of short-term farm loans through a system of rediscount; whereas it seems improbable that any large amount of relief will come to the farmers by reason of the direct operation of said section 24 of that act.

Section 33 provides for the reserves to be kept by a central bank.

Section 34 provides for the management and control of the central bank by a board of governors, consisting of nine members. Four of these are appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to serve for life or during good behavior. Vacancies among these four will be filled in like manner. The remaining five governors are selected by the stockholding banks, and arrangement is made for their serving for eight years. The election of these five governors is held by the State bank, each State bank casting as many votes as there are local banks in the State, and each local bank having the right to instruct how its vote shall be cast.

From the five governors selected by them the stockholding banks select two, and also select one of the four named by the President. From these three so selected the President must name one as president and two as vice presidents of the central bank, and a new election for president and vice presidents takes place every eight years. In case of a vacancy in the office of president or vice president, the board of governors fill the vacancy for the unexpired term from among their number.

The salaries are fixed as follows:

Each member of the board of governors, \$10,000 per year; each vice president, \$12,000 per year; the president of the bank, \$15,000 per year.

All governors are required to devote their entire time to the work and are prohibited from being interested financially in any local bank. Each governor is required to give a bond for \$100,000.

The foregoing seems to be a fair and just method of selecting the directors of the central bank. The majority of the directors are chosen by the stockholding banks, and each of these directors serves for eight years. A minority is appointed by the President and the Senate and hold office for life. This insures a permanence in office of some of the members, while the control rests with the farmers themselves through the local banks which they own and control.

Section 35 provides that the central bank shall not be permanently organized until at least 12 State banks have been organized. Provision for a temporary organization of a central bank, under the direction of the farm-land banking board, is made in this section.

Section 36 provides for the creation and operation of branches of the central bank, both within and outside of the United States, under the direction of the division of farm-land banking.

Section 37 enumerates certain privileges granted to national land-bank bonds, issued by the central bank, by making them available for the following purposes:

(1) As security for the deposit of postal savings funds in any farm-land bank.

(2) As a local investment for trust funds and estates administered by United States courts.

(3) As a security for loans from national banking associations to farm-land banks under the provisions of section 24 of the Federal reserve act, as above outlined.

But these privileges are extended only to national farm-land bonds of the central bank issued against mortgages on lands located in a State which—

(a) Exempts such mortgages from all State taxation or assessment, direct or indirect;

(b) Withdraws or cancels or waives the right to claim any exemption of such mortgages;

(c) Provides for registration of land titles, for conveyance, and for foreclosure, so as to give reasonable protection to the holders of mortgages in the opinion of the division of farm-land banking; and

(d) Accepts the land-bank bonds of the national farm-land banks, issued against mortgages in its State as a local investment for the funds of saving investors in that State, of trust funds and estates controlled by the courts of that State, and as a local investment for the reserves of insurance companies in that State.

Section 38 provides that any borrower may pay off his mortgage, or any part thereof, on any interest period after the first



five years, in cash or by presenting to the bank the national land-bank bonds of the same series as those issued against his mortgages. It also provides that the central bank can buy in its national land-bank bonds, cancel them, and, at the same time, release a corresponding amount of mortgages; but the central bank, when it calls in such land-bank bonds for payment, must pay for them at par.

This provision is obviously fair, and encourages the individual farmer to invest in national land-bank bonds of the series in which his mortgage is used.

Section 39 exempts national land-bank bonds from all taxes, assessments, or charges.

Section 40 places all matters relating to the organization and operation of farm-land banks under the division of farm-land banking.

Section 41 appropriates a million dollars to be temporarily invested in the stock of the central bank until this stock can be taken up by State and local banks. This money is to be repaid to the Treasurer of the United States, with interest at 2 per cent, in amounts of not less than \$50,000 each, as and when stock in the central bank is taken up by the local and State banks.

The necessity for first incorporating the central bank before the State and local banks is obvious. Until the State and local banks are organized, the control of the central bank is under the farm-land banking board. As the State and local banks are organized, this money is repaid to the Treasury.

Section 42 appropriates \$100,000, to be expended under the direction of the farm-land banking board in organizing the central bank and in helping to organize local and State banks.

Section 43 provides for offenses committed under this act.

Section 44 repeals all acts inconsistent with this act.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 40 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Thomson].

Mr. THOMSON of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I would not detain the committee to-night to make the observations which I have to make, nor would I ask for time at this stage of this last session of this Congress when we are so pressed for time, but would make these observations under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, were it not for the fact that I feel that such observations as I have to make ought not to be made in any other way than on the floor of the House.

Mr. Chairman, on a number of occasions the gentleman from Washington [Mr. HUMPHREY] has attacked the Forest Service, which is in the Department of Agriculture, and he has made charges on this floor against the former Chief Forester, Mr. Gifford Pinchot, and has virtually dared some friend of his to arise here and defend him.

Mr. Pinchot needs no defense, in my judgment, against the outcries of the gentleman from Washington. The character, integrity, and far-sighted wisdom of Mr. Pinchot in everything he did as a Government official is well known throughout the country.

To catch the significance of the railings of the gentleman from Washington one must not only know what he says, but must see him say it, for it is only in that way that one may know the animus—the bitterness of the dislike—to use a mild term—in which the gentleman from Washington holds this man, to whom this country is the most indebted for the preservation and conservation of its natural resources.

The gentleman from Washington detests the very word "conservation," and he regards anybody who believes in that policy as little short of simple-minded. What wonder that he explodes at every mention of the name of the man who has done so much to make conservation what it is in our country to-day? It is not surprising to know that this is the attitude of the gentleman from Washington. When we examine his political ancestry and find that he has been educated in the school in which Mr. Guggenheim, of Colorado; Mr. Clark, of Montana; Mr. Benton, of Kansas; Mr. Mitchell, of Oregon; and Mr. Wilson, of his own State, have been masters, it is easy to understand that our friend from Washington has been trained from his political youth to fight all attempts to remove the vast wealth represented in the natural resources of our country from the grasp of the special interests who would gain the monopoly of all of them, if they only could, and to strike down any man, and particularly any official, who might succeed in those attempts.

And, again, the attitude of the gentleman from Washington is made plainer when we recall that in the Pinchot-Ballinger controversy, this same gentleman from Washington was the mouthpiece of Mr. Ballinger here in the House.

On January 5, 1910, in speaking for House joint resolution 102, introduced by himself the gentleman from Washington, referring to Mr. Ballinger, said:

It is charged that he is not in harmony with the conservation movement. He is accused of permitting certain interests to seize the nat-

ural resources of the country. Yet it must be said that instead of following the example of many of the so-called "conservationists," he has done something more than sermonize and talk in glittering generalities that tickle the fancy and mean nothing. For the first time we have presented to Congress a fixed, definite plan to conserve the resources of the country. \* \* \* A plan upon which results can be accomplished.

A plan upon which results can be accomplished! Yes, indeed; the results dreamed about and longed for, and to get which the big special interests planned and schemed; special interests some of which were made up of men of great influence in the West, one group of whom were known as the Seattle crowd, men located in the gentleman's own district!

And the gentleman from Washington was the champion of this official who always leaned toward those interests and away from the interests of the public.

No wonder the gentleman from Washington does not admire Mr. Pinchot, who has always been and is to-day opposed to all the principles, with respect to our public domain, that Mr. Ballinger advocated, and strongly in favor of the public-land policies that Mr. Ballinger opposed.

Although I believe, as I have already stated, that Mr. Pinchot needs no defense, especially against the cry of such an arch enemy of conservation as is the gentleman from Washington, I can not remain silent when he challenges any friend of Mr. Pinchot to get up on this floor and deny his statements, especially when those statements are wholly false, as they are.

Not only are his statements false, but the gentleman must either know them to be false or he has not given the subject matter on which he speaks that investigation which he should give it before making any such wild charges.

On August 18 last, following some remarks I made on the floor here, in which I quoted a statement made by Mr. Pinchot in his testimony before the Committee on the Public Lands in connection with the bill that was then before the House, the gentleman from Washington suffered one of his attacks, during which he made this statement:

I find that Mr. Gifford Pinchot was appointed June 21, 1898, Chief of the Bureau of Forestry, Department of the Interior.

The gentleman from Washington could not have "found" that for it is not true. Mr. Pinchot was appointed July 1, 1898, Chief of the Division of Forestry, Department of Agriculture. I beg to call the attention of the gentleman from Washington to a few more facts that he could have found if he sought them and if he had not been afraid the truth might have furnished such a state of affairs as would not suit his purposes.

Mr. Pinchot never presided over a bureau in the Department of the Interior in his life. On February 22, 1897, he was appointed to make a special investigation in connection with the forest reserves, directly under the Secretary of the Interior. This investigation consumed about six months. From the time he concluded that investigation until July 1, 1898, when he was appointed Chief of the Division of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture, Mr. Pinchot was not connected with the Government service in any way.

At the time forest reservations were first authorized all matters relating to the conveyance or reconveyance of any of the lands within those reservations was put under the jurisdiction of Division P, General Land Office, Department of the Interior, and the management and control of all those questions has remained in that department to this day. All exchanges under the lieu-land law were under the jurisdiction of the Interior Department, and never under the jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture, and Mr. Pinchot had no more to do with those questions than the Chief of the Weather Bureau did.

The Bureau of Forestry never was in the Interior Department. The Division of Forestry was created in the Department of Agriculture by act of June 30, 1886. The purpose of the establishment of this division in the department was to enable the Commissioner of Agriculture to experiment, investigate, and report upon the subject of forestry, and the collection and distribution of valuable economic forest-tree seeds and plants. At this time the creation of forest areas or reserves was not attempted nor contemplated.

With the increasing realization that the Nation's forest resources must be protected, and with the immense growth of irrigation interests in the West, the necessity for retaining permanent Federal control over selected forest areas was recognized. This led to the act of March 3, 1891, which authorized the President to set apart forest reservations, now called national forests. The mere creation and setting apart of forest reserves, however, without providing for their use, proved ineffectual, and Congress passed the act of June 4, 1897, which gave the Secretary of the Interior authority over these forest reservations and provided that they should be administered by the General Land Office. This was on the theory that the management of land, not forests, was involved.



The questions relating to the trees themselves and to the forests, as such, were administered by the Division of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture. By the act of March 2, 1901, the name of this Division of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture was changed to the Bureau of Forestry. Quoting from that act (31 U. S. Stat. L., p. 929) appropriation was made for this bureau—

to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to experiment and to make and continue investigations and report on forestry, forest reserves, forest fires, and lumbering; to advise the owners of woodlands as to the proper care of the same; to seek, through investigations and the planting of native and foreign species, suitable trees for treeless regions; to collect and distribute valuable economic forest-tree seeds and plants; \* \* \* and for the conducting of experiments and investigations \* \* \* and \* \* \* collating, digesting, reporting, illustrating, and printing the results of such experiments and investigations.

This Bureau of Forestry had nothing whatever to do with the management or control of the land within the forest reservations.

In the management of the land within the forest reservations the General Land Office, in the Department of the Interior, found that the complex, technical problems arising from the necessary use of forest and range demanded the introduction of scientific methods and the use of a trained force, which could not be provided under the system then existing.

The advice and services of the Bureau of Forestry were found necessary, but, under the law, could be but imperfectly utilized.

It became apparent that the various branches of Government forest work must be consolidated, and this step was urged upon Congress by the executive officers concerned and by the President.

This resulted in the passage of the act of February 1, 1905, by the terms of which the entire jurisdiction over the national forests, except such laws as affect—to quote from the act (33 U. S. Stat. L., p. 628)—“the surveying, prospecting, locating, appropriating, entering, relinquishing, reconveying, certifying, or patenting” of the lands, was transferred to the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Bureau of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture was thereafter known as the Forest Service.

It will be noted that all matters relating to the conveyance or reconveyance of the title to forest-reserve lands remained still under the jurisdiction and control of the Department of the Interior, and it is under the control of that department today.

Now, a word as to the lieu-land law. The gentleman from Washington has made serious charges against Mr. Pinchot to the effect that certain “land steals” in the West, involving hundreds of thousands of acres of valuable timbered land, have been accomplished without any protest from Mr. Pinchot, and in some cases the gentleman from Washington alleges that these steals were put over with Mr. Pinchot's active assistance.

Every such charge made by the gentleman from Washington is as contemptible as it is false. I doubt if the gentleman would have been as glib with his repetitions of these charges if he were not making them against a man who is without the power to come onto this floor and speak for himself.

In making his charges against Mr. Pinchot, the gentleman from Washington mentions three specific cases. I shall take up each one of those three cases, but before I do so I want to return to the lieu-land law for a moment. That law was passed June 4, 1897. In the creation of the forest reserves it, of course, became necessary in many cases to include lands that had been acquired by entrymen under previous Federal statutes, and a number of railroad and wagon-road grants were also included. In some cases there would be a homestead in a sparsely settled valley around which a forest reserve was thrown. By the creation of the reserve this homestead was isolated, and to give the settler relief was obviously proper and necessary, and this relief could only be given by buying him out or by exchanging the settler's land for a similar tract outside the reserve. But, as is often the case, the just cause of the settlers was used as a mask by certain men. The cry, purporting to come from the settlers over the terrible hardships inflicted by the forest reservations incited, even in those days, the deep suspicion of many. To-day it is well known that this clamor for relief was largely manufactured, not in the humble cabin of the settler but in a great railroad office in the Middle West.

The lieu-land law, as passed, did not confine the relief it afforded to “settlers” or “homesteaders,” but allowed “owners” to exchange their holdings within forest reservations for tracts “not exceeding in area” the tracts relinquished within the forest reservations. It will be noted that the law very carefully omitted to say that these tracts outside the reservations were to be of equal value with, or of not greater value than, the tracts inside the reservations, for which they were exchanged.

The result of this law was soon evident. Mountain peaks, barren hillsides, lava beds, swamp lands, and other valueless holdings of great railway companies were released, and the most valuable timber, coal, and oil lands within the public lands were taken in exchange. Secretary Bliss refused to allow railroad grants to be exchanged, but permitted these exchanges in the case of wagon-road, school, and other grants. However, when Mr. Hitchcock became Secretary of the Interior he held that the lieu-land law allowed exchange with any “owner.” The bars were let down for wholesale fraud, and a national scandal resulted.

Among other “steals,” the ones referred to by the gentleman from Washington [Mr. HUMPHREY] in making his charges against Mr. Pinchot took place.

The blame for these “steals” is to be laid at the doors of Congress itself, first, because they passed any such law which authorized such exchanges without providing that the land given by the Government in exchange for land relinquished within a forest reserve should not be of greater value than the land so relinquished; and, second, because they neglected for so long to repeal the law after its serious defects became apparent. Further blame for the “steals” is to be laid at the door of the department having to do with the execution of that law, for surely it was within their power to insist that whatever exchanges were made under the law must involve tracts of equal or approximately equal values. But the department did not take that stand; it allowed relinquishments of worthless areas and permitted the relinquishers to take in exchange areas of very great value.

The department that must bear that blame is the Department of the Interior, which had entire control of the administration of the lieu-land law.

Now, the gentleman from Washington wails and gnashes his teeth because Mr. Pinchot, presiding over a bureau in the Department of Agriculture, which had nothing to do with the conveyances and reconveyances involved in these exchanges, and which had not the slightest control or power over them by the terms of the law under which they were made, a man who has never been connected in any official capacity with the Department of the Interior in his life, which department did have charge of these conveyances under the law, did not object and protest against these exchanges made under the lieu-land law, which exchanges amounted to “steals.”

I answer the gentleman from Washington:

First. It was not his business to object or protest. The exchanges were made under the sole supervision of the Department of the Interior. Mr. Pinchot was the chief of a bureau in the Department of Agriculture. He had no responsibility of any sort, shape, or kind in connection with these exchanges. It may be contended by the gentleman from Washington that after the passage of the act of February 1, 1905, the Bureau of Forestry had such a large control and jurisdiction over the forest reservations that any proposed conveyance or reconveyance of title to any part or parts of those reservations which might be objected to or protested against by that bureau would not be permitted by the Land Office. If any such contention is made, I answer it by pointing out that the repeal of the lieu-land law, which occurred very shortly after February 1, 1905, expressly excepted any agreements or contracts which had previously been entered into by the Secretary of the Interior with reference to these exchanges. And such of these exchanges as took place after the Bureau of Forestry received its enlarged jurisdiction under the act of February 1, 1905, and which come within these “steals” cited by the gentleman from Washington, were protected by these agreements or contracts so excepted from the act which repealed the lieu-land law.

Second. Mr. Pinchot is not the kind of a man who acts only when he is obliged to, and as a matter of fact he did protest against these lieu-land exchanges.

Within a few months after he became connected with the Bureau of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture, in a public address, Mr. Pinchot strongly urged the repeal of the lieu-land law, and from that time on he actively urged this step on numerous occasions.

The making of such charges as the gentleman from Washington has uttered against Mr. Pinchot on this floor in my hearing a number of times is not anything new or novel. Time after time this faithful servant of the public interests has been slandered and vilified by conservation haters like the gentleman from Washington. Some years ago Senator Beveridge, in answering one of these slanders, used the following language:

I find that it is true, as the Senator from Oregon described, that large tracts of lands in Washington which were worthless had been released and lieu lands taken up in valuable portions of Oregon. But what has this bureau to do with that? What are the facts? Let us be just to everybody. Nobody intends to accuse any man falsely nor condemn any man unjustly.



I am not sure that the Senator would have used these words if he had heard the gentleman from Washington address himself to this question. Senator Beveridge went on to say:

The truth is, that was done under a construction of the law by the Land Office some years ago, and one of the first objections to it that was made within the Government itself was made by the Bureau of Forestry, and personally by Gifford Pinchot, the Chief Forester.

On October 22, 1903, President Roosevelt appointed a Public Land Commission, consisting of W. A. Richards, F. H. Newell, and Gifford Pinchot, to investigate public-land conditions throughout the country. On March 7, 1904, a preliminary report of this commission was made, which recommended action on the lieu-land law. That report reads in part as follows:

#### LIEU LANDS.

Careful study has been given by your commission to the subject of forest-reserve lieu-land selections. These selections have given rise to great scandal and have led to the acquisition by speculators of much valuable timber and agricultural land and its consolidation into large holdings. Furthermore, the money loss to the Government and the people from the selection of valuable lands in lieu of worthless areas has been very great. There has been no commensurate return in the way of increased settlement and business activity. Public opinion concerning lieu-land selections, by railroads in particular, has reached an acute stage. The situation is in urgent need of a remedy, and your commission recommends the repeal of the laws providing for lieu-land selections.

A partial remedy by Executive action has already been applied by carefully locating the boundaries of new forest reserves and thus limiting lieu-land selections to comparatively insignificant areas. The last annual message to Congress declares definitely that—

"The making of forest reserves within railroad and wagon-road land-grant limits will hereafter, as for the past three years, be so managed as to prevent the issue, under the act of June 4, 1897, of base for exchange or lieu selection (usually called scrip). In all cases where forest reserves within areas covered by land grants appear to be essential to the prosperity of settlers, miners, or others, the Government lands within such proposed forest reserves will, as in the recent past, be withdrawn from sale or entry pending the completion of such negotiations with the owners of the land grants as will prevent the creation of so-called scrip."

There are now lands in private ownership within existing forest reserves, and similar lands must to a limited extent be included in new reserves. Therefore a method is required by which the Government may obtain control of nonagricultural holdings within the boundaries of these reserves. Your commission recommends the following flexible plan: Upon the recommendation of the Secretary of Agriculture, when the public interest so demands, the Secretary of the Interior should be authorized, in his discretion, to accept the relinquishment to the United States of any tract of land within a forest reserve covered by an unperfected bona fide claim lawfully initiated or by a patent, and to grant to the owner in lieu thereof a tract of unappropriated, vacant, surveyed, nonmineral public land in the same State or Territory and of approximately equal area and value as determined by an examination, report, and specific description by public surveys of both tracts, to be made on the ground by officials of the Government. When exchange under these conditions can not be effected, lands privately owned within forest reserves should be paid for in cases where the public interest requires that such lands should pass into public ownership. The Secretary of the Interior should be authorized to take the necessary proceedings as rapidly as the necessary funds are provided.

Referring to this Land Commission report, Senator Beveridge in the speech from which I have already quoted said:

The so-called "lieu-land law" which permitted the exchange of lands in forest reserves for lands outside was passed June 4, 1897, before Pinchot, the forester, came into the Government service as Chief Forester. Whether or not its meaning was erroneously interpreted by the Secretary of the Interior so as to extend its action to railroad and other lands not contemplated by Congress is not the question. Without doubt the law was a bad one and worked great injury to the Government. It was recommended for repeal February 13, 1905, . . . by the Public Lands Commission . . . of which this man Pinchot, the Chief Forester, was a member, and it is my understanding that it was upon his initiative that the commission made the report.

Later on in the same speech the Senator said:

I think, perhaps, the first man in the whole department who recognized the bad features of this law, and did it quickly, and who immediately took steps, as he always does, to correct a wrong, whether he committed it or not—and in this instance we all know it was committed in the Land Office—to immediately correct it, was Mr. Pinchot. The Forestry Service never did have anything to do with the wrongs of which you so justly complain, except to suggest and help in correcting them.

Now, I wish to address myself to the three specific cases mentioned by the gentleman from Washington in connection with these baseless charges he persists in repeating. I shall take them up in the order in which he mentioned them in the remarks he made the last time he repeated his attack, which was September 12.

The first case he mentions is the Northern Pacific Railroad case. In the creation of Mount Rainier National Park some of the lands belonging to this railroad were included within the reserve. A large part of these lands were later exchanged under the lieu-land provision for an equal area outside the reservation. The land turned over to the Government by the railroad in this exchange was of little value, while the land secured from the Government by the railroad was timbered land of great value. Why was this "steal," as the gentleman from

Washington terms it—and it was a steal—permitted? The gentleman from Washington alleges (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 15205, last session) that it was accomplished with the assistance of Mr. Pinchot. I allege that statement to be an untruth and a base slander.

Let us see what the facts are.

The Pacific Forest Reserve in the State of Washington was created by proclamation issued by President Harrison on February 20, 1893 (Twenty-seventh United States Statutes, page 1063). The Mount Rainier Forest Reserve, in the same State, was created by proclamation issued by President Cleveland on February 22, 1897 (Twenty-ninth United States Statutes, page 896). Both of these reservations were thus created before Mr. Pinchot became connected with the Bureau of Forestry. On March 2, 1897, a Member of this body from the State of Washington, now a Member of the Senate from my State, introduced H. R. 4058, setting apart portions of these two forest reserves, to be known as the Washington National Park. The bill passed both the House and the Senate, but was held up by a pocket veto by President Cleveland. Senator Wilson, of Washington, was the champion of this bill in the Senate. In the following Congress Senator Wilson introduced the same bill, but was unable to secure its passage. In the next Congress Senator Wilson again introduced this bill, S. 2552, and under his guidance it passed the Senate June 8, 1898. It came over to the House and was reported favorably from the Committee on the Public Lands and was passed. It became a law on March 2, 1899 (Thirtieth United States Statutes, page 993). Under this act as finally passed this park was called Mount Rainier National Park.

The third section of this bill expressly gave to the Northern Pacific Railroad Co. the right to select land outside of these reserves in lieu of land within the reserves which had previously been granted to it by Congress. This section reads as follows:

That upon execution and filing with the Secretary of the Interior by the Northern Pacific Railroad Co. of proper deed releasing and conveying to the United States the lands in the reservation hereby created, also the lands in the Pacific Forest Reserve which have been heretofore granted by the United States to said company, whether surveyed or unsurveyed, and which lie opposite said company's constructed road, said company is hereby authorized to select an equal quantity of nonmineral public lands, so classified as nonmineral at the time of actual Government survey, which has been or shall be made, of the United States, not reserved and to which no adverse right or claim shall have attached or have been initiated at the time of the making of such selection, lying within any State into or through which the railroad of said Northern Pacific Railroad Co. runs, to the extent of the lands so relinquished and released to the United States: *Provided*, That any settlers on lands in said national park may relinquish their rights thereto and take other public lands in lieu thereof to the same extent and under the same limitations and conditions as are provided by law for forest reserves and national parks.

Notice how skillfully that act is worded. The Northern Pacific Railroad Co. had only 18 miles of track in the State of Oregon, running from Goble to Portland. Oregon had some of the most valuable timberland in the public domain at that time. They wanted this act to be so worded that they would not have to be confined to the State of Washington, but could go anywhere where their road happened to extend and reach out and take a part of the public domain.

Note that this act from which I have quoted gave them the right to select lands within any State "into or through which the railroad of the said Northern Pacific Railroad Co. runs."

Those simple little words "into or through which" allowed the Northern Pacific to release the lands in the Rainier National Park and select lands in any of the Western States touched by their road.

There is another interesting thing about that act. It expressly authorized the Northern Pacific Railroad Co. to relinquish their title to lands within the national park and select in lieu thereof other lands "of equal quantity." But those who drafted the act were very careful that it should not provide that these lands selected by the railroad company in lieu of those relinquished by it should be of equal value with the lands so relinquished or not of greater value than the lands relinquished, and Congress in passing the act neglected to put in that provision. Again, the act provided that the lands selected by the railroad company should be nonmineral in character, but they were careful not to put in the act any provision that would interfere with the selection by the company of the richest timbered lands in the United States.

Now, what happened? Within three days after that act became a law the Northern Pacific Railroad Co. released in round numbers 450,000 acres of land to the Government, which had little value, and in lieu thereof they filed on some of the most valuable timberlands in the State of Washington, and then crossed over the line into Oregon and selected other large areas there. It has been alleged that the Weyerhaeuser interests bought the right of selection from the Northern Pacific Railroad



Co. at the rate of \$6.50 per acre, amounting in the aggregate to about \$3,000,000.

Now, what connection did Mr. Pinchot have with these transactions? Not one bit more than my baby boy did—no connection whatever.

The forest reserves involved were created before Mr. Pinchot became connected with the Bureau of Forestry. The creation of Washington National Park, or, more properly speaking, Mount Rainier National Park, occurred after he became connected with the Bureau of Forestry; but it was done by act of Congress after repeated attempts to accomplish the same thing by gentlemen representing the State of Washington in this House and in the Senate. And this exchange of lands effected by the Northern Pacific, which the gentleman from Washington now characterizes as a "steal," was specifically authorized by that act of Congress, introduced and put through the Senate by a Senator from Washington, and through the House by a Representative from Washington.

After that act became a law the department was powerless to prevent the railroad company from accomplishing the exchange which the gentleman from Washington now bitterly and correctly assails as a "steal." Remember that the department having jurisdiction of the matter was the Interior Department, with which Mr. Pinchot had no connection whatever.

Now, where does Mr. Pinchot's "assistance" come in? Nowhere. It is a creation of the disordered brain of the gentleman from Washington, conjured up in his eagerness to cast some aspersion on Mr. Pinchot.

The next case mentioned by the gentleman from Washington is the Santa Fe Railroad case; at least that is the way in which he referred to it. All the exchanges made in that instance were made under the act of 1897, known as the lieu-land or indemnity-selection law, passed, as I have pointed out, ostensibly in the interest of the entryman who found himself within a forest reserve, the act allowing him, and incidentally all others who had holdings within the reserves, to release his holdings to the Government and to take up lands elsewhere in lieu of the lands which he might surrender to the Government. It was Mr. Hitchcock, of Missouri, then Secretary of the Interior, who made the ruling that this act included railroad grants. The original act, passed, I believe, as a rider on an appropriation bill, permitted those relinquishing lands within a reserve to go and select other lands anywhere, whether surveyed or unsurveyed, provided only they were vacant and were owned by the people of the United States. The acts of June 6, 1900, and March 3, 1901, also included in appropriation bills, limited the scope of the act of June 4, 1897, and restricted the power of these people and companies who had lands located within the reserves to the selection of land outside the reserves which had been surveyed, in lieu of the lands they were surrendering.

Finally, as I have pointed out, this thing had become so notorious and so infamous in every Western State that a demand went up everywhere that this old indemnity selection law should be abolished and repealed, and it was repealed; but let me call attention to the wording of the repealing act, the act of March 3, 1905. It read as follows:

*Be it enacted, etc., That the acts of June 4, 1897; June 6, 1900; and March 3, 1901, are hereby repealed, so far as they provide for the relinquishment, selection, and patenting of lands in lieu of tracts covered by an unperfected bona fide claim or patent within a forest reserve—*

*And here is the important part—*

*but the validity of contracts entered into by the Secretary of the Interior prior to the passage of this act shall not be impaired: Provided, That selections heretofore made in lieu of lands relinquished to the United States may be perfected and patents issue therefor the same as though this act had not been passed; and if for any reason not the fault of the party making the same, any pending selection is held invalid, another selection for like quantity of land may be made in lieu thereof.*

Here was a qualified repeal of the indemnity selection acts that were on the statute books at that time. It excepted from the effect of the repeal those exchanges previously arranged or contracted for through the Secretary of the Interior.

This repealing act was passed a little more than a month after the passage of the act enlarging the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Forestry, in the Department of Agriculture, over which Mr. Pinchot presided. With a cunning, at which the gentleman from Washington is adept, he throws the blame for all these land exchanges or "steals" which followed that date at the door of Mr. Pinchot, then Chief of this Bureau of Forestry, or the Forest Service, as it then came to be called, and having constituted himself prosecutor, witness, judge, and jury, he pronounces Mr. Pinchot guilty of permitting these "steals," and even of conniving at them.

Why has not the gentleman from Washington reminded us at these different times when he has taken it upon himself to advise us on the subject, that the act of Congress enlarging the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Forestry expressly excepted from its terms and withheld from that bureau all matters relating to "the surveying, prospecting, locating, appropriating, entering, relinquishing, reconveying, certifying, or patenting" of these lands? Why has he not reminded us that the repeal of the lieu-land law, which repealing act was passed within five weeks after the passage of this other act I have just referred to, expressly excepted from its terms all exchanges previously arranged for or contracted for through the Secretary of the Interior? And why has the gentleman from Washington cried out in our hearing on this floor against the infamous exchanges that followed the passage of these acts and blamed the Chief of the Forest Service for them, because of the greater jurisdiction given him under the act of February 1, 1905?

Was it because he did not know that that act of February 1, 1905, as a matter of fact, did not extend to the Forest Service jurisdiction over the making and consummating of these exchanges? Was it because he did not know that the act repealing the lieu land law expressly excepted those exchanges contracted for through the Secretary of the Interior previous to the passage of the repealing act, and that those exchanges which followed the date of the repealing act were put through under that exception?

Certainly not. He knows these facts as well as I do, and he knew them all the time. He was a Member of this House when these acts were passed, and he knew perfectly well what was in them.

Why, then, has the gentleman from Washington made the statements which he has made repeatedly on the floor of this House? Because of his hatred for Mr. Pinchot as the chief exponent of the conservation of these resources in this country.

But to come to the cases which I presume the gentleman from Washington had in mind when he referred to the Santa Fe case.

It so happened that citizens of some of the States had petitioned for the creation of certain forest reserves before that repealing act, and, among others, certain of the citizens of Arizona.

The Grand Canyon Forest Reserve, the first reserve established in Arizona, including the Grand Canyon of the Colorado and the Coconino Plateau, was established by President Harrison on February 20, 1893 (27 United States Statutes, p. 1064), following the recommendation of Secretary of the Interior Noble, based solely upon a report by Director Powell, of the United States Geological Survey. This was before Mr. Pinchot was connected with the Government service.

About four years after the creation of this reserve there was presented to the General Land Office a definite and formal expression of public sentiment in favor of the extension of forest reserves to include and protect the watersheds and forests generally in Arizona. This expression was in the form of a memorial by the Legislature of Arizona, dated May 5, 1897, praying that a sufficient area of the unclaimed and unappropriated timberlands in Arizona be set apart to retain needed water supplies, in the interest of irrigation in that Territory. The memorial was accompanied by numerous signed petitions by citizens of Arizona praying for the reservation and protection of the timber in the San Francisco Mountains.

In 1898 there were created in Arizona, on recommendation of Secretary of the Interior Hitchcock, by Executive order issued by President McKinley (30 United States Statutes, 1780-1782), the San Francisco Mountains Reserves and the Black Mesa Forest Reserve. The former contained 975,360 acres and the latter contained 1,658,880 acres.

The following persons and corporations had large holdings within these forest reserves in the State of Arizona:

The Aztec Land & Cattle Co., 127,000 acres, in round numbers; the Saginaw & Manistee Lumber Co., something over 39,000 acres; William F. Baker, of San Francisco, 76,000 acres; Messrs. Robert and E. B. Perrin, 132,000 acres; the Santa Fe Railroad Co., 439,226 acres; and the Santa Fe Pacific Railroad Co., 380,000 acres.

When the question arose as to the creation of the San Francisco Mountains Reserves, the then Commissioner of the General Land Office made a report and recommendation to Mr. Hitchcock, the then Secretary of the Interior, under date of August 12, 1898, and inclosed to him drafts of proclamations to establish the San Francisco Mountains and Black Mesa Forest Reserves. He recognized in this report the great public danger of including in these reserves the private holdings of individuals and corporations and allowing them to be used as the basis for indemnity selection, and particularly called the



attention of the Secretary of the Interior to this danger in the following language:

This question of the relinquishment to the Government of private holdings within forest reservations and the selection of unreserved lands in lieu thereof is assuming grave proportions and is a matter that will need very careful consideration by this department. It is showing itself in a number of different aspects, and I am giving the subject consideration with a view to presenting the matter to the department later. In the meantime it is important that the reservations in question should be made without delay. To guard against any complications that might arise by the inclusion of a large area of railroad lands, I deem it advisable that the region which includes lands granted to the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad—

#### The Santa Fe—

should be put into separate reservations; I have accordingly prepared a proclamation reserving, in express terms, the even-numbered sections in the townships falling within the grant to the railroads, said reservations to be known as the San Francisco Mountains Forest Reserves, said sections containing a total estimated area of 975,360 acres. This makes a separate reservation of each even-numbered section, all grouped and known under the general name of the San Francisco Mountains Forest Reserves.

The lands below the granted limits of the railroad company I have embraced in a separate proclamation, describing the boundaries in the usual manner, the reservation to be known as the Black Mesa Forest Reserve, and embracing an estimated area of 1,658,880 acres.

It will be seen that in order to avoid this very danger he suggested the "checkerboard" reservation, by means of which the boundaries of the reservation cut in and around private holdings, thus keeping them without the reservation itself, so that such holdings could not be used as the basis for indemnity selection. As soon as this was done the Secretary of the Interior was besieged by owners and other interested parties, who sought to be included within and become a part of the reserve. Negotiations were instituted by the Secretary of the Interior with these owners, the names of some of whom I have given, which resulted in abandoning the "checkerboard" system, the acquisition of private holdings by the Government, and the consolidation of the reserves and the persons and corporations mentioned. The Santa Fe Railroad and others were given the right to make selections in lieu of the lands surrendered by them to the Government.

The exchanges of land in these Arizona reserves for other lands by the Santa Fe Railroad and others were made under this law of 1897, and the control of the exchanges was entirely under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior. Many of these exchanges, it seems, had not been consummated when the act of 1897 was repealed in 1905. Mr. Hitchcock, the Secretary of the Interior, had made certain agreements or contracts with the Santa Fe Railroad and the other owners relative to their right to select other lands outside of the reserves in lieu of the land relinquished by them. It was to protect these alleged contracts that the repealing clause in the act of 1905 excepted the contracts that the Secretary of the Interior had entered into with these private individuals and corporations. Of course, the repealing act did not name these individuals and corporations. That would not have been a good policy, because it would have aroused a protest in and out of Congress against legislation which showed on its face that its purpose was the enrichment of the Santa Fe Railroad Co. and others instead of the protection of the citizens of the country.

Now, the gentleman from Washington asks if some friend of Mr. Pinchot's will please inform the public what he was doing while these transactions were taking place. He was doing his full duty as the Chief of the Bureau of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture, a bureau having to do with the timber and the trees within the forests, but not the slightest thing to do with the conveyance or the reconveyance of the lands included within the forests.

I do not know whether Mr. Pinchot was consulted with reference to the creation of the San Francisco Mountains and Black Mesa Forest Reservations or not, or whether he recommended their creation, if he was consulted. That is quite beside the question. It was deemed proper and necessary to put many areas into forest reserves for the protection of watersheds to conserve the irrigation possibilities of the region, and in making these reservations it became necessary to include within them these private holdings, some of them belonging to railroad companies. It was quite proper to permit those having title, absolute or qualified, to these holdings included within the reserves to relinquish them and either receive their fair value in cash or exchange them for other lands without the reserves of equal area with the lands relinquished and of equal, or approximately equal, value with those lands. But this was not done, and because of the infamous law of 1897 passed by Congress, and the way it was administered by the Interior Department, these land steals in the West were made possible.

The gentleman from Washington intimates that many of these forest reserves were created with malice aforethought and the boundaries were so fixed as to include these large private hold-

ings of worthless land with the deliberate purpose of thus making it possible for the owners of these holdings to afterwards exchange them for rich timbered lands; and he throws out the charge that Mr. Pinchot was present at the conferences when the creation of some of these reservations was discussed, and that he approved and recommended them, and that this recommendation was "for this purpose of exchange." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 16433.) To properly characterize such a charge or intimation made by the gentleman from Washington or anybody else against Mr. Pinchot I would be compelled to use a short and ugly word which is very unparliamentary, and therefore I will not reply further to that unworthy insinuation except to say that it is completely disproven by the fact that from the time Mr. Pinchot became Chief of the Forestry Bureau until this infamous law was repealed he was constantly endeavoring to have it repealed and quite naturally one would not be favoring the creation of reserves for the purpose of these exchanges of land and at the same time be working for the repeal of the law which made those exchanges possible.

I shall now refer briefly to the last of the three cases cited by the gentleman from Washington. This is the Santa Barbara Water Co. lieu-land exchange. In this case the gentleman from Washington alleges that Mr. Pinchot recommended the exchange. That statement is wholly false. Certainly the gentleman from Washington, in making that charge, would have us understand that Mr. Pinchot recommended the lieu-land exchanges that actually were made by the Government in connection with the Santa Barbara Reservation. He did not do so. Mr. Pinchot did favor the Santa Barbara Reservation. He favored it because, as he stated in his letter, which I presume is the one the gentleman from Washington has referred to in his remarks here:

It seems perfectly evident, from what I was able to learn, that the city of Santa Barbara will be very seriously deficient in water supply within two or three years unless the acquisition of this area by the Government makes it possible for the city to acquire a new source from the headwaters of the Santa Ynez River.

Mr. Pinchot also recommended a particular exchange, mentioned in his letter. On this point the letter says:

You will remember that the difficulty in the case has arisen from the lieu-land question. I am informed that Mr. Washburn has agreed to take untimbered land in one of the Dakotas for his holdings back of Santa Barbara. From the condition of the water supply, I am strongly of the opinion that even at the cost of a relatively poor bargain by the Government, which, from the present situation, I apprehend is not to be feared, it would be wise to make the exchange. Water is practically the sole output of the forest reserves in this region; and it appears to me that this action on the part of the United States is precisely in line with the policy which has dictated the setting aside of all the reserves in this region.

Now, what exchange did Mr. Pinchot refer to in that letter? It is, of course, plain to everybody, except the gentleman from Washington, that he referred to the exchange of the holdings of Mr. Washburn in the Santa Barbara Reservation for "untimbered land in one of the Dakotas."

Now, as a matter of fact, when Mr. Washburn's exchange of lands was made it was managed and controlled by the General Land Office in the Department of the Interior, and Mr. Pinchot had nothing to do with it. And what did the Interior Department turn over to Mr. Washburn in exchange for his holdings in the Santa Barbara Reservation? The "untimbered land in one of the Dakotas," contemplated in the exchange recommended by Mr. Pinchot? Not by any means. Mr. Washburn did receive in that exchange 840.05 acres in North Dakota, but he also received 319.26 acres in Colorado, 753.96 acres in Idaho, 31 acres in Minnesota, 13,315.98 acres in Montana, 160 acres in New Mexico, 8,782.42 acres in Oregon, 5,877.82 acres in Washington, and 1,516.47 acres in Wyoming.

When we examine the exchange which Mr. Pinchot did recommend in this case and then consider the charge made by the gentleman from Washington, in which he tries to have us believe that Mr. Pinchot recommended and was responsible for the exchanges that actually were made, and made through the Land Office, we have a good example of the fairness of this broad-minded gentleman from Washington.

The attempt to place the blame for the lieu-land exchanges in the Santa Barbara Reservation at the door of the Forestry Bureau and of Mr. Pinchot personally is simply another case of jumping to conclusions which the facts do not warrant. The records clearly show that the effort to have these exchanges made in the case of the Santa Barbara Water Co. and one J. P. Washburn came from the California delegation in Congress and the citizens of Santa Barbara. Matters relating to these lieu-land exchanges were administered in the Land Office, and the letter which has been quoted from Mr. Pinchot was written in reply to a request that his bureau give information relative to the feasibility of including certain land as a part of the reserve. Together with experts of the Geological Survey, the Forestry



Bureau recommended the inclusion of the land in the reserve in order to protect the water supply of the city of Santa Barbara.

So much for the charges made against Mr. Pinchot, the former Chief of the Forest Service, by the gentleman from Washington. They are as base as they are false. I heartily agree with the words of Senator CHAMBERLAIN, of Oregon, which he uttered in a speech made in the Senate in 1912, when he said:

Mr. Gifford Pinchot, former Forester, has been denounced here as a despoiler by one of the distinguished Senators who has discussed this subject. Mr. President, I say to you that instead of criticizing him as a despoiler the American people ought to erect a monument in his honor and engrave his name upon it as the man who originated the idea of placing these resources of the Government—timber, coal, iron, and oil—beyond the reach of monopolistic control, and saving them not only for the generous use of our own generation but for generations yet unborn, because to him more largely than to any other individual in this country it is due that the people of America were first aroused to the fact that our public lands and the things under them, including the water power and everything else, were being taken up and monopolized by selfish interests. He aroused an interest and created a public sentiment that has made Congress do something to protect these natural resources. Therefore, even if I do agree with some of the criticisms which have been indulged in against the administration of the forest reserves, and with others that have been indulged in against other governmental bureaus, I must state that in its larger view Mr. Pinchot and those who have succeeded him have done a work that entitles them to the everlasting gratitude of the people.

To recapitulate on the three specific charges made by the gentleman from Washington:

The forest reserves involved in the Northern Pacific exchanges were created before Mr. Pinchot became a Government official, and by special act of Congress and the exchanges of lands made by that company were authorized and provided for by special act of Congress put through by Members of Congress from the State of Washington after repeated attempts.

The forest reserves involved in the Santa Fe exchanges were in part created before Mr. Pinchot became a Government official and in part after that time, and the latter were created at the specific recommendation of the General Land Office in the Department of the Interior upon petitions made by the Legislature of the Territory of Arizona and the people of that Territory. The exchanges were made under the lieu land law, and those that were consummated after the repeal of that law were made pursuant to alleged agreements or contracts made by the Secretary of the Interior with the holders of the lands, which contracts were carefully protected and excepted from the effect of the repeal of the law, as specifically provided by Congress in that repeal.

The forest reserve involved in the Santa Barbara water case was recommended by Mr. Pinchot, and properly so, in order to adequately protect the water supply of that city. He had been requested by the land office to look over that proposition and give his judgment of it. The exchanges made in that case were not recommended by him.

The lieu land law, together with special acts of Congress, such as was involved in the Northern Pacific case, was responsible for these land "steals," and the blame for those steals rests upon Congress itself and upon the Department of the Interior for the manner in which those who were then in charge of the department administered the law. As an official in the Department of Agriculture, Mr. Pinchot had nothing whatever to do with the administering of the law. Realizing its viciousness he did protest against the law, advocated its repeal, and worked for that result until the law was repealed.

In the face of these facts will the gentleman from Washington repeat his attacks on Mr. Pinchot? I presume he will. Whenever a conservation measure comes before the House, he just has to pour out his wrath on some one, and why not on the greatest conservationist, Mr. Pinchot?

In preparation for the next tirade of the gentleman from Washington, I want to give the House some information about a bill which has been introduced by him in the House, and when the gentleman again cries out in his righteous indignation against the "steals" put over by the Northern Pacific and others, I hope the Members of the House will keep this in mind.

On April 10, 1913, three days after the opening of the first session of this Congress, the gentleman from Washington introduced H. R. 2146. This bill seeks to amend some riders that passed with the sundry civil appropriation act of July 1, 1898, and a later act of March 2, 1901.

The former of these two bills contained a clause providing in substance as follows: Where lands had been granted to the Northern Pacific Railroad Co. and the right of the grantee was claimed to have attached by definite location, and the whole or any part of an odd-numbered section of the same lands had, previous to January 1, 1898, been purchased from the

Government or settled upon or claimed in good faith by a qualified settler under color of title or claim of right under any law of the United States or any ruling of the Interior Department, and where upon discovery of this conflict of the two claims, namely, those of the railroad and the settler, the said settler refused to transfer his claim to the railroad, then the railroad was given the right to relinquish what claim it had to this land under its grant, and in lieu thereof could select "an equal quantity of public land, surveyed or unsurveyed, not mineral or reserved, and not valuable for stone, iron, or coal, and free from valid adverse claims, or not occupied by any settler at the time of such selection, situated within any State or Territory into which such railroad grant extends." This act limited the lieu-land selection, in the case of unsurveyed lands, to odd-numbered sections to be identified by survey when made.

All lands relinquished by the Northern Pacific under this act were to revert to the Government, and the settler who had the overlapping claim could complete his title just as though the railroad grant had never been made. This law further provided that the settler who had in good faith and prior to January 1, 1898, settled upon any part of an odd-numbered section within the grant to the Northern Pacific could relinquish his claim and in lieu thereof select an equal quantity of public land situated in any State or Territory into which the railroad grant extended, and the length of the period of residence put in on the first tract would be allowed as to the second.

The act of March 2, 1901, amended this law, extending it and making it applicable "to all instances where land in odd-numbered sections within the indemnity limit of the grant to said company were patented to settlers under the public-land laws, in pursuance to application presented to or proceedings initiated in the local land office at a time when the land was embraced in a pending indemnity selection made by said company in conformity with the regulations of the Land Department, which indemnity selection has not since been waived or abandoned." Now, this law—a rider on an appropriation bill you will notice—as amended, was for the special benefit of the Northern Pacific Railroad Co. and such settlers as might make claim under the land laws to land within the land grants which had been made to that railroad company. It contained all the vicious features of the lieu-land law. It did not confine the selections made in lieu of the land relinquished to the locality or the State or Territory in which the relinquished land was located, but permitted selections to be made in "any State or Territory into which such railroad grant extends." It did not limit the selections made in lieu of the relinquished tracts to land of equal or approximately equal value with those relinquished tracts, nor to nontimbered lands, nor to lands of the same character as the relinquished tracts, but simply provided that the selected lands must be of equal quantity with the relinquished tracts and "not mineral or reserved and not valuable for stone, iron, or coal"—note the careful omission of the word "timber"—"and free from adverse claim and not occupied by a settler at the time of the selection." The selections were not confined to surveyed areas but could be made in unsurveyed areas. That law is in force to-day.

Now, note these facts about the bill pending in the House at this moment, introduced by the gentleman from Washington. It seeks to amend these two laws I have described. It provides that these laws shall be—

and they are hereby, extended to include any bona fide settlement or entry made subsequent to January 1, 1898, and prior to January 1, 1913: *Provided*, That said act shall be, and is hereby, amended and extended so that all lieu selections made under said act may be of either odd or even sections of surveyed or unsurveyed lands of equal area of those relinquished, not mineral and not otherwise appropriated, within the State or Territory where the base land was relinquished or within the District of Alaska or the Philippine Islands, as the selector may select.

Then this bill goes on to provide that where there is a conflicting claim, and the Northern Pacific refuses to relinquish and make another selection in lieu of the one relinquished within 90 days after notice, the settler may relinquish and make selection.

Now, notice that this bill proposed by the gentleman from Washington does not repeal any part of the law as passed in 1898 and amended in 1901, but it adds a whole lot to the old law.

The old law is confined to claims initiated by settlers prior to January 1, 1898. The gentleman from Washington proposes to extend the law to include cases where claims were initiated by settlers after that date and down as late as January 1, 1913.

The old law was confined to conflicting claims made on odd-numbered sections. The gentleman from Washington would extend the act to include such claims made on "either odd or even sections."



Would you not think, after the howl of righteous indignation which has been repeatedly raised on this floor by the gentleman from Washington about the "steals" of timbered land made out in his country by the Northern Pacific Railroad Co. in relinquishing worthless land and selecting in lieu thereof rich and valuable timbered lands—would you not think after all that show of virtue on his part that in introducing a bill seeking to amend a law specifically referring to the Northern Pacific Railroad Co., and permitting that company to make certain selections of public land in lieu of others relinquished, he would have been careful to stop the gaps by means of his proposed amendments and prevent any further steals by this company? Has he done it? No; he has not.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. THOMSON of Illinois. Can I get 10 minutes more?

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman 10 minutes of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 10 minutes more.

Mr. THOMSON of Illinois. The original act provides that the lieu selections that can be made by the railroad company or the settler—and I presume the cry will be raised that this is a settler's bill, one for the settler's relief; but it is no more so than was the general lieu-land law itself—must be "of equal area" with the tracts relinquished, but it fails to provide that they must be of equal value or of not greater value. This was one thing that made these "steals" possible. Has the gentleman from Washington shown a real desire to stop that gap, and does his bill provide that the lieu selections shall not be of greater value than the tracts relinquished? No!

The original act provides that the lieu selections that can be made by the railroad company or the settler in these conflicting cases must be of nonmineral land. It permits the selection of timbered lands. This was another thing that made these "steals" possible, because of the great value of the timbered lands. Has the gentleman stopped that gap in the bill he has introduced amending this special act, and provided that the lands selected under it in lieu of lands relinquished must be nontimbered? No!

The original act provides that the lieu selections that can be made by the railroad company or the settler in these conflicting cases may be made "within any State or Territory into which such railroad grant extends." This was another thing that contributed to these land "steals" which the gentleman from Washington has denounced as infamous. In the bill he has introduced has he sought to amend this special law by restricting the area within which the lieu selections can be made to that State or Territory where the tracts relinquished are situated? No! On the contrary, his bill proposes to extend those areas and permit these lieu selections to be made "within the State or Territory where the base land was relinquished or within the District of Alaska or the Philippine Islands, as the selector may elect." And you will notice he is careful not to repeal the provision of the original act to the effect that the lieu selections may be made within any State or Territory into which the railroad grant extends. The gentleman from Washington would not only leave all the public lands in the United States, timbered and otherwise, open for these lieu-land selections, but he would by his bill make available for them all the public lands in Alaska and the Philippine Islands.

Mr. CARY. Will the gentleman pardon an interruption?

Mr. THOMSON of Illinois. I will.

Mr. CARY. A little while ago the gentleman mentioned the Philippines. Does that give the Northern Pacific Railroad the right to go over to the Philippines and choose lands in exchange for lands worth nothing along their right of way in this country?

Mr. THOMSON of Illinois. If the bill were to pass, it would.

Mr. CARY. I think that is an outrage.

Mr. THOMSON of Illinois. I think so myself, and I am about to read from a report from the Department of the Interior which says that very thing.

In a report made by the Department of the Interior December 18, 1913, on Senate bill 2801, this Congress, which is a bill very similar to H. R. 2146, the department says:

The magnitude of the grant to the Northern Pacific Railroad Co. has frequently been the subject of much comment, but by the terms of this bill its area is not even limited to the States proper, but it is proposed to extend it to Alaska and our insular possessions. It can not be believed that such a proposition would receive serious consideration of Congress. . . . The careful policy heretofore observed, both by the legislative and executive departments, in refusing to subject the Territory of Alaska to the general provisions of our public-land laws until such time as the requirements of the Territory are better understood and can be carefully considered and protected should preclude any possibility of congressional consent to a scheme that could be so easily used to acquire title to the most valuable lands in the Territory.

And that is the sort of a bill that has been introduced by this gentleman, who has repeatedly risen on this floor and with a distressed and sanctimonious look bewailed the loss to the people of his State and other States of valuable, rich timberlands through steals put over by the Northern Pacific Railroad Co., and who wanted to know where somebody else was while these things were going on. And now he, forsooth, would open up to this very same corporation not only everything left in the way of timbered lands in the public lands of the United States but in the Territory of Alaska and in the Philippine Islands.

After a long fight the general lieu-land law was repealed, but this special law tucked away in a sundry civil appropriation bill still lives; and our friend from Washington would have us amend and extend it so that future "steals" will not necessarily have to be confined to Washington public lands or the public lands in other States, but may include lands of great value across the seas in Alaska and the Philippines.

But he will tell us this act only applies to conflicting claims. Quite true. But how many "conflicting claims" do you suppose such an adroit corporation as the Northern Pacific Railroad Co. has shown itself to be could be inspired by it between January 1, 1898, and January 1, 1913, the period of time over which this bill proposes to extend the original act, which it thus seeks to amend?

Oh, consistency! Thy name is not HUMPHREY! With a voice pitched to carry to the far-off State of Washington, has this gentleman stormed and howled about these outrageous and contemptible "steals" put over by the Northern Pacific and others; and amidst the din and clatter of his own noise, he has started the machinery to working to the end that the Northern Pacific Railroad Co. itself may reach out and make these lieu-land selections even in Alaska and the Philippines.

May I remind the gentleman that his actions will cry out even louder than his words and reach quite as far? And may I also suggest to the gentleman that before he again casts baseless charges against Mr. Pinchot, the greatest champion of the people's rights in all our natural resources, that he at least take the precaution to move out of his glass house? [Applause.]

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. HELM].

Mr. HELM. Mr. Chairman, this is a far better time for a farmer to read a good speech than it is for a Member of Congress to undertake to make one.

This is the period of the year when the farmer begins to "take stock" by looking back over the past year to see how he "stands"; he has harvested and marketed his last year's crop and sold his live stock, and having viewed his past work, efforts, and resources he looks forward to the current year to see where and how he can increase his profits or recoup his losses.

If he is a man with a good clear head, sound judgment, good health, strong muscle, plenty of energy, and has applied these indispensable assets for successful farming industriously to the cultivation of his land and management of his live stock, the chances are one hundred to one that he has made some money.

With few exceptions he has realized fair returns for all his products, of which the yield, with the aid of fertilizers, has about equaled the average in recent years. But when he begins to cast up his account he is liable to find that his running or operating expenses have exceeded his expectations, and his annual profits less than he had expected, notwithstanding he has been comparatively economical, his management satisfactory, escaped destruction of any of his property by accident, or serious sickness in his family.

Furthermore he is aware that within the last decade his land values have doubled, in many sections they have quadrupled, in value, and under all the circumstances he is at a loss to discover the leaks and his failure to make better headway.

The flannel-mouthed calamity howler comes along shouting oppressive legislation by an incompetent party in control of national legislation, because it put certain farm products on the free list, namely, lumber—yes; it is on the free list, so are hemp, hides, wool, corn, wheat and other similar serials, except in case of countervailing duties to equal those imposed by foreign Governments, and yet there was never a time when the farmer realized more for each of these products than he does now.

The farmer with the clear head and sound judgment says to himself, "Thou fool," shakes his head, passes on, and looks further. He knows that in none of the older settled States the soil is as productive without fertilizer as formerly, when the



land was fresher and cheaper, when his outlay was smaller and his net income larger, considering his investment. The same condition obtained in many of the more recently settled States.

Taxes are continually on the increase. When we were lads what were then luxuries are now prime necessities for the farmer, not including better roads, better schools, better homes, better clothes, all demanding and requiring larger outlays, which ought to mean larger income.

The average size of the farmer's family is just about as large as it used to be, while the size of the average farm is about one fourth, third, or half as large as it was when I was a boy, yet expenses have multiplied as rapidly in an inverse ratio.

The situation is a serious one, requiring and demanding the best thought of every head of a family if the slogan "back to the farm" is to be heeded, much less become attractive.

This brings us to some of the problems that the present-day farmer has to solve. What is the solution? Diversification of crops and intensive farming, greater yield or production per acre, cheaper transportation, better marketing facilities, and greater economy in operating expenses.

The farmer's first concern is the improvement and restoration of his land to its former productive capacity, thereby, in the first instance, escaping his annual outlay for fertilizer, the preservation and conservation of the fertility of his soil, because the soil is his stock in trade. If it deteriorates or is allowed to wash away, his income will fade away.

The destruction of any of his improvements by fire or storm is felt and realized at once, because he knows the cost of their reconstruction, but he fails to appreciate the heavier and more serious loss when the fertile and nutritious portion of his land has been skimmed off and washed away by heavy rains. Every precaution should be taken to avoid this serious and unnecessary loss by proper care for and cultivation of the ground. The most inexcusable negligence of a farmer is his failure to stop deep ruts and gullies on his farm; they are bad advertisements both of the farmer and the farm.

Every lawyer and every doctor knows, and everybody else knows, that when they cease studying their professions that they are going to fall behind and some fellow who does study, dig, and work is going to get the business. The same thing is true of the farmer. He also must study to keep up with the procession and abreast of the improved methods of progressive farming, in order to secure the greatest returns for the least outlay as well as best methods of marketing and transportation.

Producing two, possibly three, crops on the same acre in one year and at the same time improving the quality of your land and marketing your products cheaper requires headwork, but it makes bank accounts grow.

Central Kentucky is far famed as an agricultural section and preeminently adapted to stock raising. The blue grass is native to the soil. It is the habitat of the thoroughbred and standard-bred horses and the short-horn cattle. It is traversed by running streams that are fed by perennial springs.

There was never a better opportunity to resume this industry on a more extensive scale than in recent years. Undue attention has been given to the cultivation of tobacco, which has resulted in impoverishing the land and otherwise causing its deterioration.

No one needs to be told that the extraordinary European demand for horses is certain to enhance their value, especially the types produced in Kentucky. It is unfortunate that the cheap, low-grade western scrubs have found their way into the State. It will pay to preserve the perfect Kentucky standard type. I also take occasion to express my strong condemnation of the unbusinesslike and impractical policy of farming out stallions, inaugurated by the War Department, which has resulted in a very useless waste of money.

The western range is gone forever, and with it the day of cheap cattle has passed.

Central Kentucky is also the section in which the Kentucky hemp and burley tobacco is raised—crops that demand the richest and most fertile lands to produce a profitable yield of these products. The timothy and clover meadows flourish; corn, wheat, rye, barley, and all similar cereals thrive. Crop rotation has been in vogue for years. It is ramified by a splendid system of macadamized pikes. Yet, with all these superior advantages and others not enumerated, there is still room for progress in advanced methods of farming and increased production of profitable crops. I shall venture to refer to and point out some of these possibilities; but before doing so I wish to state that there are very few problems relating to farming, stock raising, and diseases of animals which, if they have not been solved, much valuable information concerning them is

available for the asking from the Department of Agriculture. I distribute annually a list of bulletins bearing on all these subjects, which I shall be glad to furnish on request. The tobacco reports are issued by the Census Bureau. Let me know if you want to be put on the bureau's mailing list for them.

The demoralization of the foreign markets for tobacco should be ample warning against a large acreage next season. Tobacco and cotton are two products that have suffered by reason of the European war. While burley is not largely exported, the price is affected by the market for the export types.

It is impossible to gauge the wholesome influence exercised by a good citizen; it is likewise difficult to estimate the far-reaching benefits derived from the example of a thoroughgoing, businesslike farmer.

There resides in the southern portion of Lincoln County a gentleman—Dr. C. M. Thompson—who, when he is not practicing his profession, manages his farm, which he is continually improving in value, on which he raised and harvested last season, in the same field, a crop of red wheat and a crop of buckwheat, the two realizing him much more than he paid for the land, and afterwards secured a splendid stand of clover susceptible of light fall grazing. This gentleman has a clear head, good judgment, strong muscle, good health, plenty of energy, and applies it industriously and intelligently, and consequently is not complaining of hard times. What he has done every other man in the southern half of Lincoln, Casey, and Adair Counties can do, because they have the same kind of soil. The more we have of his type, and the closer we follow the pattern he has marked out, the nearer we reach the solution of the problem.

#### ALFALFA.

The comparatively recent production of alfalfa in the group of counties adjoining Lincoln County, Ky., was due to the foresight and efforts of Mr. W. P. Givens. He demonstrated the fact that it could be profitably grown in this locality, as well as its superior value as a forage crop. Many have since followed his example with satisfactory results. Others desiring to do so may be assisted by the following facts concerning its cultivation and uses.

"So far as climate is concerned, alfalfa can be grown in every State in the Union.

"A deep, permeable soil should be chosen if possible, as alfalfa is naturally a deep-feeding plant that usually sends its roots down many feet to obtain the plant food materials and moisture which are out of reach of shallow-rooted crops.

"No other foliage crop requires less lime in the soil than does alfalfa.

"Young alfalfa plants are very tender and are apt to be killed by weeds during their early stages of growth.

"The time of seeding alfalfa varies in the different sections of the country, but late summer seeding is best in the East and South.

"Dairy cows require high protein feeds in order to produce profitable flows of milk. The tests showed that with alfalfa hay at \$10 a ton and wheat bran at \$20 the saving effected by substituting alfalfa for wheat bran is \$2.80 for every 100 pounds of butter, and nearly 20 cents for every 100 pounds of milk.

"Alfalfa forms probably the best roughage for fattening cattle, as its lack of bulkiness enables the animal to consume sufficient quantities for rapid gains.

"Alfalfa is an ideal hay for sheep, but is apt to cause bloat if used for pasturage.

"Alfalfa is fed to hogs for the most part in the green state, either as a soiling crop or as a pasture.

"Alfalfa may be fed to horses both in the green state and as hay. Instances are on record where horses have performed heavy work during the summer season on nothing but green alfalfa.

"Alfalfa makes an excellent feed for all kinds of poultry. They can be allowed the range of an alfalfa field during the summer or it can be cut green and fed to them.

"Kentucky blue grass is apt to run out the alfalfa if this grass is used in the mixture in the blue-grass sections.

"The following tabulation indicates the approximate cost and returns per acre:

Plowing	\$2.00
Harrowing	1.00
Seed, 2½ pounds at \$2	4.50
Seeding	.50
Harvesting, 3 tons at \$2	6.00
Total	14.00
Three tons of alfalfa, at \$15	45.00
Cost to be deducted	14.00
Profit	31.00



## SOME ALFALFA DON'TS.

"Don't fail to provide for ample inoculation; soil from an old alfalfa field is best.

"Don't sow poor or weedy seed.

"Don't sow on a weedy soil.

"Don't sow on any but a sweet, well-limed soil.

"Don't sow on poorly drained soil.

"Don't sow on any but a finely prepared, well-settled seed bed.

"Don't pasture the first or second year.

"Don't lose the leaves; they constitute the best part of the hay.

"Don't seed a large acreage to begin with. Experiment on a small area first.

"Don't give up. Many prominent alfalfa growers finally succeeded only after many failures.

"Alfalfa acts in a manner similar to red clover and other leguminous crops in increasing the yields of the succeeding crops."

## SOY BEANS.

Other splendid forage crops that are in the same general class with alfalfa are soy beans and cowpeas, but, unlike it, they can be sown on the land before certain other growing crops have been harvested and at the same time greatly improve the soil, thereby eliminating the expenditure for commercial fertilizer.

If you are making heavy outlays for cottonseed meal with which to fatten your cattle and can not only save this expense, but can at the same time improve your land, is not it good business to do so? Is not the old saying "money saved is money made" still true? The soy bean will turn the trick.

If your land is run down and needs renovating, do not spend all your last year's earning for commercial fertilizer in your efforts to raise another crop when there is a much cheaper and better way. The cowpea is highly recommended for this purpose by experts on this subject.

"As a forage crop, however, soy beans have become of increasing importance in parts of the United States, especially southward. Their culture has greatly increased in recent years, especially in Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, and the southern part of Illinois and Indiana.

"The soil requirements of soy beans are much the same as those of corn.

"Throughout the South the proper bacteria for soy beans seem to be widely distributed, so that natural inoculation now occurs generally.

"Soy bean hay when cut at the proper stage of growth and carefully cured is excellent, and for dairy cattle at least yields results equal to alfalfa hay.

"The planting should be timed so that the crop can be cut for hay in September, as this month is usually the most satisfactory for haymaking. The cutting may begin as soon as the dew is off the plants and continue for the rest of the day.

"While the hay is dry it should be put in good-sized stacks or under a shed. If it is stacked in the open field it is very essential that some other material, either grass or a canvas cover, be put over the stack, as soy bean hay does not shed rain well. Yields of from 1 to 3 and occasionally 4 tons of cured hay to the acre are secured. The average yield is about 2 tons per acre.

"Soy beans and cowpeas make a very satisfactory mixture for hay purposes.

"In sowing soy beans and cowpeas in mixture about 1 bushel of the former to a half bushel of the latter per acre should be used.

"Soy beans are more commonly grown with corn than with any other crop.

"The growing of soy beans for ensilage has not been practiced very extensively. In a number of instances ensilage has been made of the crop, usually in combination with corn, and it is invariably reported as making an excellent succulent feed.

"Growing soy beans for the grain for use as feed is distinctly profitable if the yield is 16 bushels or more per acre. The feeding value of the grain is very high, being slightly superior to cottonseed meal. The grain is rich in protein, while nearly all the other grains produced on the farm are poor in protein but rich in carbohydrates.

"Throughout much of the region well adapted to soy beans dairy farmers purchase cottonseed meal for a high protein feed. Numerous experiments have shown that soy-bean meal is equal or slightly superior as a feed to cottonseed meal both for cows and for hogs.

"Yields of 20 bushels per acre of soy beans on lands of moderate fertility may confidently be expected in the region where the best medium or late varieties will mature.

## THE COWPEA.

"The cowpea is used more than any other crop as a soil renovator in the South. Its use is rapidly increasing, but is yet far from general. During the past few years the high prices of the seed has tended to discourage more extensive growing. Recent progress in the harvesting of cowpea seed by machinery will doubtless materially reduce its cost. The seed is at present almost entirely picked by hand. The cowpea is characterized by remarkable ability to grow in poor soils and to cover the ground so densely as to choke out most weeds. It usually bears an abundance of tubercles on its roots, whether the soil has been inoculated or not, although in new localities where the cowpea has not been previously grown the tubercles may be absent. In such cases inoculation is necessary, for it must always be remembered that it is through the tubercles on the roots that the beneficial effects of the cowpea or other legume largely depend.

"Cowpeas are very commonly planted between rows of corn at the time of the last cultivation or they are broadcasted upon the stubble of small grains. Cowpeas, however, like other crops, respond remarkably to cultivation, and there is a growing tendency to plant them upon well prepared soil. This practice results in a great increase of the crop, whether grown for hay or for seed.

"Perhaps no single agricultural crop is of greater economic importance to the people of the United States than cowpeas, yet its cultivation is comparatively recent in this country. Each year the crop is better appreciated, and its area is being rapidly extended. While the cowpea is not a true bean, it is a valuable forage crop and a great soil renovator. The seeds are valuable as grain, the hay is equaled only by alfalfa, and as a producer of organic matter for green manuring it is unsurpassed."

## ORCHARD GRASS.

The wide fertile bottoms of Green River and its tributaries are as productive as the famous valley of the Nile, and are best adapted to corn raising. The hills of Casey and Adair Counties have splendid range on which stock thrive in spring and summer. Orchard grass will flourish in these counties where the undergrowth is not heavy, and will be of material aid to stock growers who have their lands fenced. The same is true as to the southern portion of Lincoln County.

"It is a bunch grass, and when sown alone forms tufts which in time become large tussocks considerably raised above the general surface of the soil. There is a hindrance to the mowing machine and also a waste of land. For this reason it is recommended that orchard grass be combined with some other grass, for which purpose meadow fescue is recommended.

"Orchard grass is one of the most nutritious and palatable of the cultivated meadow grasses. It thrives in more shaded situations than other meadow grasses, for which reason it is often planted in orchards, hence the name. It withstands drought better than the timothy, and consequently can be grown farther west in Nebraska than can timothy.

"It is true that fields of these grasses usually dry up more or less during the middle of summer, but the same is true of all available pasture grasses, it being necessary to supplement them during this season with green feed, such as cane or corn. On the other hand, orchard grass and meadow fescue furnish green feed in early spring and late fall, seasons when the wild pastures are not available. The seed should be sown in the spring at the rate of about 20 pounds of orchard grass and 15 pounds of meadow fescue per acre. Unless the ground is free from weeds it will be necessary to mow once or twice during the first season to keep the weeds down until the grass is well established. When grown for hay the grass should be cut in blossom, as at a later period the value of the hay rapidly decreases."

It not only behooves the farmer to understand the kind and quality of his soil that he may know what to plant with promise of best returns, but when to harvest and how to preserve and feed his provender so as to obtain the best results.

The silo has become almost as indispensable as the barn, and it may yet be interesting to some to learn what its advantages and uses are.

## SILAGE.

"Within the last 30 years silage has come into general use throughout the United States, especially in those regions where the dairy industry has reached its greatest development. Silage is universally recognized as a good and cheap feed for farm stock, and particularly so for cattle and sheep. There are several reasons for the popularity of silage.



"1. More food can be stored in a given space in the form of silage than in the form of fodder or hay.

"2. There is a smaller loss of food material when a crop is made into silage than when cured as fodder or hay.

"3. Corn silage is a more efficient feed than corn fodder.

"4. An acre of corn can be placed into the silo at less cost than the same area can be husked and shredded.

"5. Crops can be put in the silo during weather that could not be utilized in making hay or curing fodder.

"6. More stock can be kept on a given area of land when silage is the basis of the ration.

"7. There is less waste in feeding silage than in feeding fodder. Good silage, properly fed, is all consumed.

"8. Silage is very profitable.

"9. Silage, like other succulent feeds, has a beneficial effect upon the digestive organs.

"10. Silage is the cheapest and best form in which a succulent feed can be provided for winter use.

"11. Silage can be used for supplementing pastures more economically than can soiling crops, because it requires less labor, and silage is more palatable.

"12. Converting the corn crop into silage clears the land and leaves it ready for another crop.

"In all parts of the United States where the silo has come into general use the principal silage crop is corn.

"Some persons have advised mixing clover, cowpeas, or alfalfa with the corn when it is being put into the silo in order to correct this deficiency of protein. Such a procedure is not to be advised, however, if it is at all possible to cure the clover or other crop into hay, and it usually is possible if hay caps are used. Since some dry forage should always be fed along with the silage, the leguminous hay would better be used in this way rather than by converting the crop into silage.

"Corn should be harvested for the silo at about the same time that it is harvested for fodder; that is, when the grain has become glazed and the lower leaves of the stalk have turned brown.

"Sorghum is readily made into silage. The only advantage which sorghum has over corn is that it will sometimes yield heavier on poor ground and that the operation of harvesting may extend over a greater period; that is, it stays in the right stage for harvesting longer than corn. Sorghum, however, makes a poorer quality of silage, being more acid, not so palatable, and less nutritious. Where corn yields well there is no advantage in growing sorghum.

"Clover is a successful silage crop, yielding a palatable product high in protein. It does not pack so well as corn, so great care should be exercised in the tramping of the silage at the time of filling, and the depth of the silo should also receive particular attention. A shallow silo will not prove satisfactory.

#### COWPEAS, ALFALFA, AND SOY BEANS.

"These crops can all be successfully made into silage by exercising the same precaution as with clover. They should be cut at the same time as for haymaking. However, it is ordinarily preferable, as with clover, to make them into hay rather than silage.

"Other good silage materials are Kafir corn, milo maize, teosinte, and beet pulp."

Many a man has a natural taste for the cultivation of fruits, berries, and vegetables. He knows that it is a profitable business, but he does not know how to make it a success. He knows that when he has plenty of fruit, berries, and vegetables all of his neighbors in the same locality are certain to have the same luck that he has. He has a limited amount of ground, and he can not do extensive farming on a large scale, so he is compelled to fall back on horticulture and truck farming. He is a more fortunate man than he thinks he is. Parcel post has solved his problem. All he needs is a city directory of Louisville or Cincinnati and a few postal cards, and in 24 hours he is in touch with a market representing over half a million people, none of whom can produce what he has for sale and must have what he has for sale in order to live. The schedules of the mail trains in central Kentucky are well arranged for marketing by parcel post.

Shelby and Spencer Counties possess special advantages because of their proximity to a large market in Louisville, to which every producer can haul his own product within a few hours over splendid roads.

#### POTATOES.

If I am not incorrectly informed, many people in the district I represent discovered, as a result of the drought last year, that it was possible to raise two crops of certain varieties of vegetables—among them potatoes, a wholesome food for all classes, universally used, for which there is always a market and very

seldom below the cost of production, because it is a food that is welcome in the laborer's dinner pail, frequently called "the poor man's bread"; and yet it is often a dainty dish on the banquet table.

Trusting that some one will read and profit thereby, I insert an excerpt on this food plant printed in a bulletin published by the Department of Agriculture, as I have and will from other bulletins on different agricultural products:

"The ever-increasing importance of the potato crop makes it highly desirable that more attention should be given to the subject of seed improvement. As yet comparatively little thought has been given to this phase of the potato industry by the American grower. The European grower, on the other hand, recognizes the futility of attempting to grow profitable crops of potatoes without giving the most careful attention to the source of his seed supply. To this end he either buys his seed from specialists in seed-potato production or becomes a specialist himself. The result of this attention to the use of good seed is well attested by the average yields secured. For the years of 1901 to 1910, inclusive, the average per-acre yield in bushels was as follows: Germany, 200; Great Britain, 200; and the United States, 92. It would be absurd, of course, to claim that all of this increase was attributable to good seed, but it is safe to assume that good seed does play a very important rôle and should not be overlooked by the American grower.

"In some sections the same land can be made to produce two crops of potatoes in a single season, thus rendering it a very important and profitable industry.

"Within recent years there has been a marked increase in the use of second-crop potatoes for seed throughout the southern potato-growing sections. This crop is frequently grown on the same land from which the first crop of potatoes was harvested.

"A conservative estimate of the increase that might be expected from the use of high-grade seed is certainly not less than 10 per cent. Such an increase, based on the average of the past five years, would amount to over 34,250,000 bushels, having an approximate valuation of \$21,000,000.

"The value of the method is well attested by the crops produced. The average production on an 18-acre basis for the past nine years—1901 to 1909—has been 282 bushels per acre. The highest seasonal yield during this period was 417 bushels, and the lowest 233 bushels. These yields are being secured in a locality where the general average is approximately 150 bushels per acre."

While there is an astonishing and surprising difference in the yield per acre here and abroad, still, at that, if the market price is 50 cents per bushel, \$46 per acre is no bad return. You have done worse with other crops.

#### UNNECESSARY EXPENSE FOR SEED AND FERTILIZERS.

While I am on the topic of seeds, as suggested by the foregoing and following excerpt on seed corn, I can not pass the subject without stating that in my opinion one of the big leaks and unnecessary operating expenses of the farmer are his annual outlays for seeds of all kinds and varieties, though I would not undervalue this importance of good seed.

Why should a farmer every year spend a snug sum for seed when he can with small labor preserve them out of his own crop that he has raised, by selecting the proper types and giving the proper care? Why do not you stop this unnecessary outlay? Too often you do not get as good as you raise, and what you do get is adulterated with all kinds of pests, many of which it is impossible to eradicate or destroy. We have the best lands, why can not we produce the best types? The answer is, we can. Why does not some man in every locality set his head and hands to it and keep this money at home. Look after the balance of trade at home and the foreign balance of trade will take care of itself.

Another thought along the same line. The United States is the richest country on the globe, yet the Government employees in the city of Washington, the Capital, rake up the leaves in the parks and convert them into the best fertilizer known. You burn them up, go to the store and spend your money that you need for other purposes to buy a fertilizer not half as good, notwithstanding you are not as rich as the United States. What do you think of the intelligence of a farmer who will burn an old half-rotted straw or hay rick or fodder shocks in order to get them out of his way when he goes to plow, instead of using it as a mulch to put on the potatoes that he planted in the spring or scattering them on his land? That man is talking hard times and is claiming that the Underwood tariff has ruined him.

#### SELECTING SEED CORN.

Here is what the Agricultural Department has to say about seed corn:

"At corn-ripening time drop all other business and select an abundance of seed corn—the process is too important to be



conducted incidentally while husking. When selecting seed corn give the process your entire attention. Get the very best that is to be had and preserve it well, and your increased yields will return you more profit than any other work you can do on your farm.

"The only proper way to select seed corn is from the stalks standing where they grew, as soon as ripe and before the first hard freeze."

"The average production of corn to the acre for the entire United States is but 26 bushels, yet in practically every section four times that quantity is frequently produced. Improvement of the quality of seed is the least expensive method of increasing the yield per acre. A full stand of plants may be obtained from inferior seed, but the yield will not be the best possible. The loss is due to delay or negligence. It can be prevented by the selection of seed corn in the autumn. Autumn is the time to prepare for a profitable corn crop the following season.

"By far too many consider seed corn simply because it will grow. To be first class seed must be—

"(1) Well adapted to the seasonal and soil conditions where it is to be planted.

"(2) Grown on productive plants of a productive variety.

"(3) Well matured and preserved from ripening time till planting time in a manner that will retain its full vigor.

"The importance of the three requirements just enumerated has been demonstrated experimentally by the Office of Corn Investigations of the Bureau of Plant Industry."

Every common school should have a corn club or a pig club for the boys and a poultry club for the girls. Education and business go hand in hand. The poultry crop exceeds the annual wheat crop in value.

#### TOMATOES.

The European war is certain to increase the demand for canned goods and consequently the price of all is sure to go up. The canning factories are going to have their inning, and should be made ready for an active season with full steam ahead. There are several factories in the district—do not overlook a good opportunity. You who are in the business ought to know how accurate the following from an agricultural bulletin is:

"Commercial tomato growing in the Southern States is almost exclusively confined to the production of tomatoes at a season when they can not be grown at the North except in greenhouses. On this account the commercial production of this crop is restricted to areas where there is very little, if any, freezing during the winter months. Florida and Texas lead in the production of this crop.

"The yield of fruit in the South, under the conditions mentioned, is much less than it is in regions having the long growing periods characteristic of higher latitudes. Yields vary from 75 to 250 bushels to the acre, but the high price obtained for the fruits which are thus produced at a season when the sole competition comes from the products of northern greenhouses renders the crop when well handled very remunerative.

"The tomato as a field crop is adapted to a wide variety of soils, though a medium clay loam is probably the best. In fact, any soil well adapted to potatoes will grow the tomato to good advantage.

"The cost of production per acre is much less for fruit for canning than in the case of early tomatoes, the chief difference being in the production of the plants. The several items may be classified as follows:

Cost of growing an acre of tomatoes for canning:

Plants	\$2.00
Manuring and fertilizers	8.00
Preparation of land, setting plants, and cultivation	8.00
Picking and carting	10.00
Total	28.00

"The yield, as in the case of the early tomato, varies widely, ranging from 5 to as high as 20 tons per acre, even 30 tons per acre having been reported in exceptional cases, although the average for a series of years on average land will probably be under 8 tons. Where all conditions are carefully observed, 20-ton yields are frequently obtained, and at the prices received at the cannery, ranging from \$5 to \$7.50 per ton, according to the locality, the crop is a fairly good one, and the net profits are quite as large as for other field crops."

#### ASPARAGUS.

Suppose you had an acre of ground adapted to asparagus culture—and some pluck—let's see what experience has demonstrated and the test shows:

"The popularity which asparagus has achieved during recent years is remarkable. Formerly a luxury on the tables of

the rich, it is now, during the season, a vegetable seen daily upon the tables of people of moderate or even of small incomes. It is also frequently recommended as an article of diet for the sick and convalescent.

"The fact that asparagus appears in the market at a time of the year in which few or no other fresh vegetables are available has had much to do with its increased consumption in our cities. It can also be easily preserved by canning, the product in this form being almost equal to the fresh article, and this has increased its use, being, as it were, a lengthening of the season.

"Brinckmeier, in his 'Braunschweiger Spargelbuch,' gives the following three rules for guidance in selecting a location for asparagus beds:

"(1) One should choose, in reference to the ground characteristics, open, free-lying ground, protected to the north and east, of gradual slope, free from trees or shrubbery.

"(2) The field should be exposed to the rays of the sun all day long; therefore a southern exposure is desirable; or, if that is not obtainable, a southwesterly or southeasterly slope, because either east, west or north exposure will cause shadows during a greater or less portion of the day.

"(3) Standing, stagnant ground water, which can not be drawn off by drainage, is to be avoided, the requirements of the plants indicating a somewhat damp subsoil, but not too high ground water.

"From the above it is deduced, and experience corroborates the theory, that a not too porous, but a well-drained, light, deep, sandy loam, with a clay subsoil, is to be preferred to all others.

"A prominent and successful New Jersey grower says:

"I can not give the cost in detail of establishing asparagus beds, as so much would depend upon whether one had roots to buy, and upon other matters. Where growers usually grow roots for their own planting the cost is principally the labor, manure, and loss of use of land for two years, upon which, however, a half crop can be had.

"The cost of maintaining a bed I can only estimate, as at times all the men on the farm may be at work at the asparagus, and at other times none at all, and I do not keep an account of the time put in at the asparagus. I should estimate the cost per acre as follows:

Manure (applied in the spring)	\$25
Fertilizer (applied after cutting)	15
Labor, plowing, cultivating, hoeing, etc.	20
Cutting and bunching	40
Total	100

"A bed well established, say 5 years after planting, when cared for should for the next 10 or 15 years yield from 1,800 to 2,000 bunches per annum, or at 10 cents per bunch (factory price), \$180 or \$200.

"This agrees very closely with the actual figures of the yield and receipts of another New Jersey grower, who in 1896 cut 22,584 bunches from 12 acres, all of which were not in full bearing, or 1,882 bunches per acre, and received \$2,611 net returns from commission houses, or a fraction over 11 cents per bunch. Of course those getting higher prices or larger yields will exceed this, but it is a fair average for those who sell on commission or to canneries.

"The cost of good 1-year-old plants ought not to be over \$4 per thousand, and it requires from 1,800 to 3,600 to fill an acre, depending upon the distance between plants; perhaps 2,500 would be a fair number, allowing surplus plants to fill missing hills, or \$10 per acre. The plants can be grown from the seed for half that sum, if that plan be preferred.

"The cost of establishing a bed can be somewhat reduced by planting for the first two or three years some early garden crop between the rows, such as potatoes, peas, beans, onions, strawberries, and so forth, for as the roots are as yet not occupying all the ground there will be no injury to the plants, and the manure and cultivation necessary for the young asparagus will be sufficient for the other crop, hence the receipts for it will be almost entirely net and yield at least the returns of 'a half crop.'

"The estimate above calls for an annual expenditure of \$40 per acre for fertilizer and manure, which is a liberal allowance; another estimate requires 2,000 pounds per acre of a mixture containing 400 pounds of muriate of potash, 1,100 pounds acid phosphate, and 500 pounds of nitrate of soda, which at market prices can be secured for less than the above sum. Asparagus is one of the earliest vegetables, especially if the roots are near to the surface or the soil above them has been temporarily removed so that the rays of the sun can easily penetrate to them.

"It is not in the province of this discourse to attempt a description of asparagus canning as practiced in a factory. For such at best would be the detailing of the method practiced at one and might differ widely from the practice of every other, and, besides, it is a business requiring expert knowledge and considerable capital, while domestic canning of asparagus is as simple as for any fruit or other vegetable.



"A lady of experience as a housekeeper gives the following receipt:

"Cut the asparagus the length of a fruit jar, pack the jar closely, fill with cold water, add a little salt, and put the lid on loosely. Place these jars in hot water reaching to the brim and boil for three hours, adding enough hot water to that in the jars to keep them full. Close lids tightly and set jars away to cool."

#### CABBAGE.

There are approximately 44,000 square feet in an acre. Plant this in cabbage, 2 feet apart each way; it will require 11,000 plants to do so. Say 10,000 mature, if you only get 1 cent a head, that makes \$100 per acre. It beats corn or wheat, but suppose you could get 5 cents a head—you can not buy one at the store for less than 10 cents—nothing beats it; if it does, you ought not to want it; be satisfied with from \$100 to \$500 per acre for any crop.

"In some sections of the United States cabbage is extensively grown as a farm crop.

"According to the last census New York State grew more than 25,000 acres of cabbage, Pennsylvania nearly 11,000, while Virginia grew about 10,000 acres. The three States mentioned outrank all others by at least 2,000 acres. No adequate estimate can be placed on the value of this crop, as it fluctuates very decidedly, both in average and in price, from year to year.

"While cabbage will thrive upon a wide diversity of soil types, the soil which is usually selected for truck-farm operations is what gardeners call a 'quick soil,' one composed of sand with a small percentage of clay.

"Cabbages from the trucking region are chiefly marketed in carload lots. Long-distance shipments of truck crops of all classes are most economically handled in this manner; in fact, it would be impossible to carry on the trucking enterprises of the country on their present scale unless it were possible to ship such commodities in carload lots.

"The truck-crop cabbage business is at present chiefly conducted on a commission basis, although in a few sections crops are grown under contract. Owing to the perishable nature of early cabbage, it is probable that the crop will always be extensively handled on commission.

"An item that should be considered by the grower of early cabbage for the northern markets is the quantity of cabbage placed in storage from the northern fields. A short crop of late cabbage at the North means good prices for early southern-grown cabbages. Low prices and heavy storage of the northern-grown fall cabbage usually mean low returns for early southern-grown cabbage. The importance to the southern truck farmer of keeping close tab on the hold-over crop of the North in order that he may not be the loser is obvious.

"Cabbage is frequently made the basis of such a combination. Sometimes lettuce and radishes are grown between the rows of cabbage. Sometimes cabbage is planted between the rows of early beets, while late potatoes are frequently planted between the rows of early cabbage. The various combinations of such crops are too numerous to be catalogued."

Of course, you know that cabbage could be grown between rows of early beets and that late potatoes could be grown between rows of early cabbage, that beans could be grown between rows of cucumbers, that raspberries would grow between apple trees, that strawberries would grow under and currant bushes between grape vines, but the idea of keeping all the ground real busy at the same time may never have occurred to you.

It might amuse you if some one should tell you there is money in raising cucumbers, but you would never believe it until somebody proved it.

#### CUCUMBERS.

"The soil best adapted to the cultivation of cucumbers in the open is a light sandy loam, one which responds quickly to the temperature and fertilizer.

"As soon as the cucumbers reach marketable size—i. e., from 6 to 10 inches in length—they are picked from two to three times a week and sorted and graded, so as to place all those which are perfect in shape and uniform in size in one grade, which are usually packed in baskets of the Delaware type holding a bushel or a half barrel.

"The yield of cucumbers to the acre depends on the season, the variety grown, and the skill of the planter. A normal crop, however, may be placed at about 200 half-barrel baskets per acre, the price varying from 50 cents to as much as \$2 per basket.

"After the fruit has been harvested and the marketing season has been closed, the vines should be destroyed by gathering and burning or plowing them under, so as not to harbor or breed disease.

"The cultivation of cucumbers to supply the demands of the pickle trade has assumed important commercial proportions in

certain sections of the United States. As a rule, this industry is not of long duration in any locality. The salting stations, as they are called, which are the gathering points used by the pickle factories, are in the main of inexpensive constructions, and those parts which are most durable can be moved as necessity requires. The history of the pickle industry in any particular locality does not cover a period of more than 6 to 10 years.

"In general the price paid for cucumbers is remunerative, and the industry, if it could be carried on on an extensive scale, would be a very profitable one. The fact that only a small acreage of cucumbers can be handled by any single grower renders it a less attractive and less profitable crop in the aggregate than it would be if large acreages could be handled. The reason that only a small area can be grown by individual farmers is the great amount of hand labor required to gather the fruits. During the bearing season it is necessary to go over the patch at least three times each week in order to secure the fruits within the range of the sizes which will be accepted by the pickle factories—that is, from 2½ to 4 or 5 inches in length. Few farmers have sufficient assistance to allow them to grow more than 1 or 2 acres. If the pickling of the cucumbers were work which could be carried on by children, it would not present so many difficulties. The fruits are heavy, and the fact that it requires experience to find them under the leaves makes it men's labor rather than that of children."

One of the best paying, easiest managed, requiring less outlay, is the strawberry crop. Always a market for them.

There is a farmer, Ben Lewis, in the southern portion of Lincoln County making a good living raising and selling strawberries. He is buying all the land that joins him, wearing a smile, and it is wrong to give his scheme away.

If you could run upon something equally as profitable, let him alone and try raising beans or onions, or both. Do not be afraid of the smell; it always has worn off. There is always a demand for both vegetables. Armies and navies have subsisted on beans; hence the name "navy bean." Remember there are now 20,000,000 men under arms. Every cornstalk should make a bean pole this year. It will make you some good pin money.

#### FIELD BEANS.

"The census for 1900 gives the area of the bean crop, including both field and garden beans, as 453,867 acres, and the total product is placed at 5,064,844 bushels, an average of 11½ bushels per acre. The total amount received by the producers for the crop was \$7,634,262, or an average of \$1.51 per bushel. In considering this average it must be remembered that the total includes the products of good as well as of poor cultivators and embraces regions in which the crop was a practical failure, as well as those in which it was a success. For those States which make bean growing an important industry the average yield to the acre is somewhat higher than is recorded in this general average.

#### GARDEN BEANS—KIDNEY, LIMA, STRING, AND SNAP.

"Under favorable circumstances the best varieties of beans yield very large quantities of pods. It is not unusual to gather 200 bushels of string beans from an acre, the price ranging from \$2.50 to 50 cents per half-bushel basket from early in the season until its close for any particular locality.

#### ONION CULTURE.

"The onion holds third place among the truck crops grown in the United States. In 1908 about 14,000,000 bushels, valued at \$10,000,000, were produced, practically all of which were consumed in this country. In addition we annually import about 1,400,000 bushels from Spain, Egypt, Bermuda, and the South Sea Islands. The onion is one of the more common crops of our home vegetable gardens, and it is well adapted to growing commercially on a small scale, very little capital being required for a beginning. The market for onions includes practically the entire commercial world, and the demand for a good article continues throughout the entire year.

"As a general average, onions will cost in the neighborhood of \$80 when ready to market. This does not include the crates or bags in which to market them.

"An acre of onions will produce on an average 300 bushels, although large tracts are made to yield an average of 500 bushels an acre, at a cost for growing not exceeding \$75. The price paid the grower in the field is sometimes as low as 35 cents a bushel, although 45 cents is about the ruling price, taking one year with another. A yield of 300 bushels, at 45 cents a bushel, gives a gross return of \$135 an acre, or about \$55 with the cost of growing deducted. The more successful onion growers, and they are many, count upon a net profit equal to the cost of growing the crop.



"In districts where the ordinary varieties of onions are planted in rows 3 feet apart and cultivated with horse tools, the yield is generally about 150 bushels an acre and the cost of production is frequently not more than \$10 or \$12 an acre.

"The quantity of onion seed that can be grown to an acre depends on several conditions. The yield of seed, as a rule, will be about 400 pounds to the acre, although as high as 800 or even 1,000 pounds have been secured.

"The price per pound paid for the seed varies according to the quality, variety, and market demands. For first-class, high-grade seed from specially selected bulbs of desirable types the growers frequently receive as much as \$1.25 a pound, but for the general crop produced from bulbs not specially selected, which must be sold in competition with the great mass of seed produced by large growers, the price is generally not more than 40 or 50 cents a pound."

This list of demonstrations should be carried to greater length. However, I can not omit the sweet potato as one of the commodities that make bank accounts grow. If you have not access to a postal savings office, these institutions make money for you while you are asleep; but let us get back to our sweet potato.

#### SWEET POTATOES.

"With the passing of each year the sweet potato is becoming of greater importance as a commercial crop in the United States.

"Sweet potatoes thrive on a moderately fertile sandy loam which does not contain an excess of organic matter. They are frequently grown upon almost pure sand, especially where the subsoil is a yellow clay.

"To keep sweet potatoes in good condition they must be (1) well matured before digging, (2) carefully handled, (3) well dried or cured after being put in the house, and (4) kept at a uniform temperature after they are cured.

"Wooden houses are preferable, because they are cheaper and easier to keep dry.

"The value of this crop in the United States in 1909 was \$34,429,000, 90 per cent of which was produced in the Southern States. The total area devoted to sweet potatoes in the United States increased from 537,000 acres in 1899 to 641,000 in 1909, and the yield increased from 42,500,000 to 52,200,000 bushels. The total value of the crop increased at a much more rapid rate than either the acreage or yield, showing an increase of 78.3 per cent in 10 years.

"One reason why southern farmers have not received good prices for their sweet potatoes is that they have not used proper methods of handling and marketing. In many cases the potatoes are badly bruised and cut in digging, are put in bags or rough barrels without grading, and are rushed on the market when there is an oversupply. The secrets of success in getting high prices are (1) to carefully grade, clean, and pack the product, and (2) to put it upon the market when there is a good demand. The greatest demand for sweet potatoes is, as a rule, from the middle of December to the middle of March.

"The market demands a medium-sized, uniform type of sweet potato, free from bruises or decayed spots.

"The varieties of sweet potatoes that the markets demand should be grown. The potato should be carefully graded, cleaned, and packed in neat and attractive packages.

"Sweet potatoes should never be marketed in bags or in bulk."

Do not forget that all that the fellow who is making money may have is a head and a pair of hands; you have the same.

#### TRANSPORTATION AND MARKETING.

It is a good rule not to embark on any business until you have considered and figured closely on transportation. Freight is another name for tax, and the carriers still charge all the traffic will bear, and your enterprise will come to grief unless you are granted a living rate by them. Transportation includes freight or express; terminal or switching charges; drayage. There are other elements of cost which must not be overlooked: Commission, jobber's profit, storage charges, distributor's profit, and the cost of growing, packing, and handling to shipping point.

Do not you see what a great advantage the parcel post is to the producer? They can use it more profitably than the mail-order houses if they will only take advantage of it.

It furnishes the best delivery wagon in the country. The rural carrier receives the package at your front gate for a fixed and uniform low charge, and it is delivered for you to the party to whom you sent it, eliminating all of the different transportation charges above mentioned; and no one is going to use the mail to defraud you; you have the best collector in the world—Uncle Sam.

Did it ever occur to you what a cinch a fourth-class post office is to a country merchant? Exclusive of the profit on his produce that he sends to the city he gets the cancellation of the postage required to carry it. A 50-pound package by parcel post is worth 54 cents to the postmaster in the first and second zones, a snug profit in itself. Suppose he had 10 city customers a day, do not you see? And he is benefitting the farmer by buying something from him that the local market would not absorb.

#### CLUBS.

The next best and only safe plan for marketing is carload lots, f. o. b. at your shipping point. But you are a limited producer; then form a club or association on the cooperative system of marketing, standardize packages, and uniform grades. California, Oregon, and Washington never let a faulty piece of fruit start east. Give your product a standing in the market because of the good faith and fair dealing of the club or association that is behind it as a guarantee. As soon as you form your club ask the department to send you a demonstrator.

No club or association in any locality should embark on a cooperative system of marketing without first establishing some central agency by which accurate forecasts of crop prospects can be furnished as well as the visible supply on the market. One market may be glutted while another may be unsupplied. Cooperation does not thrive on fraternal agreements. Like anything else in the business line, the best results are obtained through a money consideration paid to some one trustworthy and possessing business capacity.

Marketing, shipping, and transportation necessarily involve the question of good roads.

#### GOOD ROADS.

The most unpardonable wrong and inexcusable injury that every citizen does to himself is his failure or refusal, if required to do so, to put in full time and good work on the public roads. Why, the very reputation of a county or locality for good roads bring buyers into that county or locality and adds value to every acre of land. You can not have a good home or a satisfactory home unless you have a good road leading to it. You are losing money by your failure to improve the road. Yes; you are not only losing money, you are throwing it away; and the other fellow who buys your farm at a sacrifice and then does what you neglected to do—improve the road—finds it where you lost it.

I can not close without registering my protest against what I consider an unbusinesslike practice pursued by certain farmers in selling young calves and pigs. This is like cutting out the crop when the price is very high and very profitable.

A farmer considers an old brood mare that will yield a \$40 mule colt a good investment. Why is not an old cow that will produce a \$40 calf sooner a better investment? Yet you send the old cows and the veal to the butcher—a double loss. A \$15 veal calf will make a \$130 New York shipper as a 3-year old. At what business can anyone run \$15 up to \$130 in the same length of time, unless he is some kind of a gambler?

#### HOG RAISING.

I simply can not be convinced that it will not pay to feed \$3 corn to a \$6 pig. There has been too much money made in feeding \$1.50 corn to \$3 hogs to make me believe that there is not money, and plenty of it, in feeding \$3 corn to \$6, \$7, and \$8 hogs. The risk from cholera has been greatly reduced by the serum that has been discovered, and the present appropriation of \$500,000 was intended to bring this remedy within the reach of every farmer.

The loss in the United States from diseases of swine during 1913 has been estimated at 7,004,800 head; 90 per cent of this loss is regarded as due to hog cholera. The value per head has been placed at \$10.40, which indicates a total loss for the year of \$65,564,928. The loss for the past 40 years has been estimated at \$50,000,000 per annum. Complete statistics have not been compiled on hog-cholera work done under the present appropriation. Reports, however, covering the treatment of 123,363 head, 106,029 of which were treated in infected herds, show a saving of 89.5 per cent. There is good money and certain money in raising the young stock at present prices. You can not lose.

Cholera hogs should be kept away from running streams of every size, because the stream carries the disease down with the current, thereby spreading the contagion.

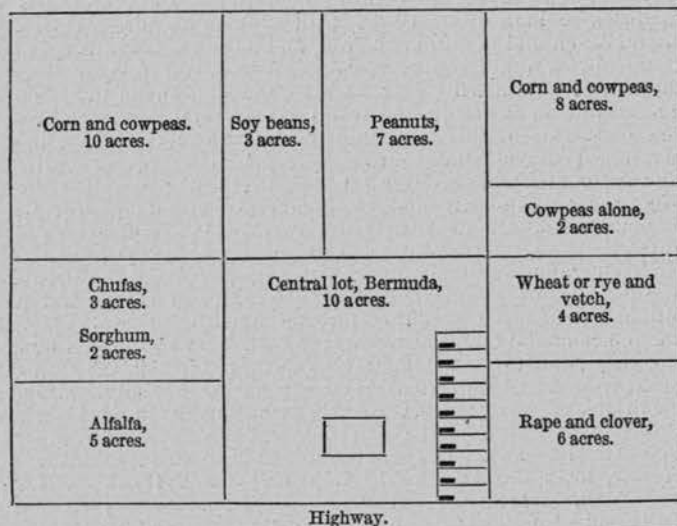
"Hog raising is one of the most profitable lines of animal husbandry in the South if wisely managed, and one of the most unprofitable if conducted in the ordinary way; that is, if the hogs are raised without care and fed without knowledge or judgment.

"The best way to make hog raising profitable in the South is to graze the hogs upon pastures prepared especially for them,



supplementing the green food by the addition of a small grain ration. Upon this plan hogs can be raised at an average cost of 1½ to 3 cents a pound, depending mainly upon the management of the sows and pigs and upon an economic plan of fattening.

"Prepare a central pasture of Bermuda grass. Adjoining the central pasture should be several small pasture fields, or they may all be in one field, with movable fences for partition as required. The pastures required in addition to the Bermuda are, for winter and spring grazing, wheat and hairy vetch, chufas, early Essex rape, and red clover, where red clover will grow, or crimson clover may be used; for summer and fall grazing, sorghum, cowpeas, soy beans, peanuts, and alfalfa. Adjacent to the central pasture should be a field of corn in which cowpeas are planted at the time of last cultivation. The following plan shows the general field arrangement for a hog-breeding establishment where the hogs are mainly fed on green crops.



Showing central lot with necessary buildings. Convenient outlets to all adjoining lots from central lot.

Details of cropping system for a herd of 10 sows, dropping two litters a year:

"The central field containing the buildings, breeding pens, and water should be quite rolling, so as to thoroughly drain at all times; sandy loam land preferred, well set in Bermuda grass, with some trees for shade.

"Sow a mixture of burr and white clover on the Bermuda sod in the fall. This will greatly improve it for winter grazing. This lot should contain 10 acres.

"On one side of the central field lay off another 10-acre lot, 6 acres of which should be planted in Early Essex rape and red clover; if too far south for red clover, use crimson clover or Japan clover (lespedeza). The remaining 4 acres should be in wheat or rye and hairy vetch.

"On another side of the central field lay off a 10-acre lot, 7 acres for Spanish peanuts and 3 acres for soy beans (large yellow).

"On a third side should be another 10-acre field, allotting 5 acres to alfalfa, 3 acres to chufas, and 2 acres to sorghum. This will leave two 10-acre fields, one at each corner, for corn and cowpeas. This plan can be enlarged without material modification by including the peanut and soy bean field in the central pasture and adding other fields for forage crops. There should be some movable fences so as to divide the pastures for the most judicious grazing.

"Never throw corn for hogs on the ground. It forces them to eat too much dirt.

"It is emphatically necessary to avoid all wallowing holes if the herd is to be kept healthy."

#### EUROPEAN WAR FARMERS' OPPORTUNITY.

Unless peace in Europe comes as suddenly and as unexpectedly as war came the prospects for the farmer are rosy. No one rejoices that the opportunity comes in the way it has, because everyone deprecates war. Still, the opportunity having presented itself, it should not be neglected, but should be grasped.

The plunging of European nations into war almost in the twinkling of an eye meant temporary world-wide paralysis and panic. Gold was locked up and credit was suspended, moratoria declared, debts made uncollectible. The whole business world

was dazed; the shock was similar to that which occurs when there is a sudden outbreak of a widespread malignant epidemic, more appalling than the terror inspired by the most gigantic earthquake, more staggering than the world's worst conflagration—a catastrophe second in calamity and destruction only to the deluge; a colossal convulsion that has caused a general tie-up and derangement of business. Millions of men have been called from their avocations to arms; manufactures and mills have been closed, if not destroyed. The destruction wrought by 20,000,000 of men in war defies calculation.

We are now rapidly recovering from this business tie-up and derangement (which has completely dominated commercial affairs at home and abroad), with prospective advantages greatly in our favor. The season bustles with opportunity; foreign trade beckons us. The markets that have heretofore been supplied by the nations now at war must look elsewhere for supplies that can be delivered.

It therefore behooves our farmers to increase their acreage, for this country is the only country that can deliver its supplies, whether from the farm or the mills. Everybody busy; full steam ahead.

The President, having by his wise course saved our country from the frightful scourge of war with Mexico, is eager and anxious to seize every wise considered plan to reach the foreign trade, and is utilizing every legitimate instrument at his command to this end.

Strength to his good arm that he may continue to pilot this Government safely in this the world's greatest and most deplorable crisis since the flood. Let the American people remember that it was a Democratic administration—notwithstanding the charge of incompetency to run the Federal Government—that kept this country out of war with Mexico, while all the wisacres, high brows, and crowned heads of Europe were plunging their people into war.

Mr. Chairman, I ask leave to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has already that permission.

Mr. HELM. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman yields back seven minutes.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Chairman, I avail myself of the latitude permitted in debate in the consideration of an appropriation bill to say a few words in regard to various measures now pending having for their object the prohibition of the export and sale of arms, ammunition, munitions of war, and even breadstuffs, if the House resolution 611, which is as follows—

Whereas it is alleged that the manipulations of speculators have caused an abnormal rise in the price of wheat; and

Whereas reports show that wheat prices on the Chicago Board of Trade and similar institutions reached the highest mark in several years on yesterday; and

Whereas there exists no natural cause for the fluctuations in the price of this product: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Attorney General of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed to inform the House of Representatives what steps, if any, he has taken against the Chicago Board of Trade and similar institutions and their alleged interference with the orderly course of interstate commerce.

Resolved further, That the Attorney General of the United States be directed to take such steps as are necessary to protect the consuming public from the manipulators of food prices, with especial reference to the prices of wheat and flour.

Resolved further, That the President of the United States be requested to take the proper course to make effective an embargo upon shipments from this country of wheat and flour if, in the discretion of the President, the operations of the aforesaid speculators can be checked in no other way.

which I had the honor to introduce on the 28th of August last, is interpreted to have that effect, to the belligerent European powers. Most Members of this House are in receipt of many petitions from their constituents asking them to support with their votes House joint resolution 377 and Senate bill 6688, both being intended to put a stop to the traffic in weapons, ammunition, and munitions of war between this ostensibly neutral country and European nations at war. Being a man of peace and believing that the passage of either of the above measures would hasten peace between the warring nations, I heartily support both and hope that they will be enacted into laws. I further say that, in my opinion, these measures go not far enough, and the resolution introduced by me should be added in order to produce the desired result. The American people, not having any interest in the bloody struggle now going on in Europe, should not be compelled to pay extravagant prices for the necessities of life in order to sustain one or more of the European belligerents. The price of our bread should not be raised in order to supply bread to the armies of England and France. But few American farmers derive any benefit from the high prices of their wheat and corn. These benefits are enjoyed by



a gang of unscrupulous speculators, who avail themselves of the opportunity given by the war in Europe to squeeze and oppress our own people. The exportation of weapons, ammunition, and munitions of war to the belligerent nations is bad enough, but it is an outrage that the people of this country should suffer on account of the exportation of breadstuffs. Nobody would oppose the exportation of the surplus of our breadstuffs to the belligerent nations alike, but no just man can favor an export of the necessities of life that will increase their cost to our own people.

In this connection I may be permitted to quote Mr. Horace L. Brand, a Chicago journalist, who stands at the head of one of the greatest German newspapers of the country and whom the President refused to receive when he appeared here at the head of a delegation to combat, in the interest of truth, the statements made by a commission of Belgians concerning the alleged atrocities committed by the German soldiers in Belgium. The President severely rebuked Mr. Brand and intimated that he had violated the provisions of his neutrality proclamation. I heartily approve the arguments of Mr. Brand in favor of the joint resolution, No. 377, introduced by the gentleman from Iowa, but I am free to state that this resolution does not go far enough for me. I would not leave the exportation of war material to the belligerent nations to the President's discretion. I much prefer the bill introduced in the Senate by Senator HITCHCOCK, of Nebraska, which absolutely prohibits such exportation.

The joint resolution of the gentleman from Iowa reads as follows:

*Resolved, etc., That the President is hereby authorized, in his discretion, to prohibit the export of arms, ammunition, or munitions of war of every kind (whether whole or in parts to be later assembled) from the territory or any seaport of the United States until otherwise ordered by the President or by Congress.*

I note particularly, and with regret, that this resolution does not include foodstuffs nor any other articles sometimes classed as absolute contraband, nor any articles usually classed as contraband, excepting arms, ammunition, and munitions of war.

The opponents of this measure claim that the United States was suffering from commercial depression before the outbreak of this war and that the large orders given by warring nations to United States manufacturers, merchants, and exporters has brought about a condition of prosperity. The friends of this resolution do not deny that very large orders have been placed in the United States by warring nations; but they affirm that the total amount of money now being spent in the United States by warring nations for arms, ammunition, and munitions of war is relatively small compared to the total amount of money now being spent for all the articles purchased by Europe. Thus the greatest part by far of the present uplift in business would not be lost if this resolution would become a law. The exact proportion between the money spent for arms, ammunition, and munitions of war to the total amount spent will soon be published, because the Senate has requested the Department of Commerce to furnish exact figures on this subject.

Another argument made by the opponents of this measure is that if it becomes a law it will lengthen the duration of the war, and in support of this contention they claim that the sooner the belligerent nations obtain the largest quantities of weapons, ammunition, and munitions of war with which to annihilate each other the sooner will the one nation or side be reduced to defeat. The friends of this measure take precisely the opposite view, claiming that this resolution, when enacted into law, will shorten the duration of the war, and in support of this contention they argue that each one of the warring nations will be able for many years to come to obtain sufficiently large bodies of men to carry on defensive warfare. It is not a question of men, they argue, but it is a question of being able to equip the soldiers and sailors properly for waging warfare. They point to the Civil War, during which England fitted out the *Alabama* and other warships for the Confederates and supplied the southern army with war material of every kind, which caused a prolongation of that conflict. Even if the opponents of this measure were correct, its friends assert that it would be inhuman for a neutral country to furnish to belligerent countries the means by which these nations annihilate each other.

The opponents of this resolution claim that the unrestricted sale of weapons, ammunition, and munitions of war is necessary during all wars, because were the sale of these articles prohibited by neutral nations, it would compel every neutral nation and every nation at peace to manufacture and store large quantities for future wars, on the theory that were this resolution to become a law universally no country at war could import articles needed by it during war after the outbreak of

war. The friends of this measure answer this argument by stating that no country in the world has prohibited the unrestricted exportation from its borders of weapons, ammunition, and munitions of war, and still during times of peace every country of continental Europe has manufactured and stored large quantities of so-called contraband of war in preparation for some future conflict. England and the United States of all the great powers of Europe and America have not done so, but the reason for their not doing so is that each is protected by water, making it extremely difficult for the enemy to invade those countries.

The friends of this resolution argue that the present condition is rapidly creating a military clique in this country which will be composed of manufacturers and others interested in the sale of weapons, ammunition, and munitions of war. In many parts of the United States factories are being enlarged in order to carry out the large orders placed by Europeans. When these orders are filled these factories will become idle. A persistent and strenuous effort will then be made by the owners of these factories to induce our Government to manufacture weapons, ammunition, and munitions of war and store them up in preparation for a future conflict. Being possessed of these articles the United States will be agitated by thoughts of military conquests, thus endangering the future peace of the United States. The opponents of this measure say that in order to make it a law the policy of the United States must be reversed, that international law as well as the law of our land does not prohibit the manufacture and sale and exportation of weapons, ammunition, and munitions of war even during conflicts raging abroad. Thus this resolution would be virtually a reversal of our policy and a nullification of international law. The friends of this measure admit that under international law no prohibition is recognized, and therefore the exportation of weapons, ammunition, and munitions of war is both legal and permissible. But they point to the law of 1898, according to which the United States prohibited the exportation of weapons, ammunition, and munitions of war to every country from any point within the United States, and to the fact that under this law President Roosevelt laid an embargo upon the exportation of contraband of war, including coal, to the Republic of San Domingo, thus establishing a precedent, which can not be successfully refuted. To be sure this law was amended by Congress and now stands upon our statute books as a law giving to the President the legal right, in his discretion, to lay an embargo upon the exportation of contraband of war, including coal, to any land which is a part of the North American or the South American Continents. Under this amendment President Taft laid an embargo upon the exportation of contraband to Mexico, and under the same amendment President Wilson raised the embargo previously laid by President Taft.

The opponents of the above resolution claim that it is introduced by the friends of Germany with the object of aiding Germany, and therefore is partial in its inception and would violate the spirit of American neutrality as proclaimed by President Wilson. The friends of this measure admit that it was introduced by an American citizen of German extraction, whose sympathies are with Germany. I dare say that there are other Members of this House in whose veins not a drop of German blood flows. They point to the undisputed fact that England controls the seas, and by its use of that power makes it impossible for an enemy of England to procure any article from the United States which England decries shall not reach the enemy. It is a condition and not a theory that confronts us. This condition places the United States in a position of partiality, because it can favor only one side to the European conflict, much as the United States would like to favor both sides equally. The opponents argue that the present position of the United States is one of passive indifference, and if that position seems to favor the allies it is through no fault of the United States but, rather, due to Germany's weakness on the seas, and that the above resolution, when enacted into law, would make the United States adopt measures with the result that a decisive advantage would be gained by Germany over the allies, due to the fact that Germany is better supplied with weapons, ammunition, and munitions of war and other articles needed by an army than are the allies. The friends of this measure assert that the above contention may be true and it may not be true, but it remains a matter of opinion whether Germany is better supplied or not, and that neither the citizens nor the Government have official information of sufficient accuracy and reliability to prove the contention that Germany, including its friends, is better supplied to carry on war than France, including the allies. But even if it could be proven, then that proof should in no way influence the action of the United States, because we desire to remain neutral. In the



spirit of neutrality we should carry out President Wilson's proclamation, which was to the effect that no act should be committed by citizens of the United States which could in any way be construed as favoring, aiding, or helping the one nation more than the other. This proclamation is in line with the original and first proclamation, issued in 1793 by George Washington, then President of the United States and now revered as the Father of our Country, which contains the following words:

The duty and interests of the United States require that they should, with sincerity and good faith, adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial toward the belligerent powers.

To be impartial is to favor no one party more than another. But the acts of selling weapons, ammunition, and munitions of war are construed as favoring those nations which are the purchasers. Therefore the friends of this measure argue that it should be made a law, so that no acts could legally take place consisting in the sale and exportation of weapons, ammunition, and munitions of war, and therefore could not be construed as acts of favoritism to any nation. Therefore, too, the friends of this measure claim that its enactment into law is a necessity in order to prove to all the world that the United States is neutral in spirit as well as in proclamation and is friendly and impartial to all the belligerent nations.

The last and probably the strongest argument in favor of the enactment of this resolution into law is the following: President Wilson proclaimed Sunday, October 4, as the day upon which our Nation should pray that peace may come to the warring nations of the earth. Our people did so. On the other hand, a few unpatriotic American citizens labor six or seven days in the week to manufacture and sell for profit those articles, particularly weapons, ammunition, and munitions of war, to the warring nations, knowing full well that they are intended to prolong the war and to annihilate human beings. Into this position of national hypocrisy the United States is now placed. It is the duty of every patriot to do his share to take from his country the stain of national hypocrisy now placed upon it because of the grasping commercialism of some of its citizens.

The friends of this measure know full well that England can not raise enough food to feed its peoples; nevertheless this measure does not include a prohibition of the exportation of foodstuffs. This is done, I presume, upon the ground of humanity. But in this I beg to differ with the author and the friends of this resolution. We have a duty to perform to our people. Owing to the demands of England and other European countries now at war for our breadstuffs the price of the same has risen to a height that precludes many of our own people from obtaining their just share of God's bounty. I believe not only in an embargo on all articles that will help to prolong the war, but also in an embargo on all foodstuffs in order to make them cheaper to our own people and bring this unholy slaughter to a close.

I heartily agree with the gentleman from Missouri who a few days ago said in this House that the war would be ended in 30 days if the belligerents were unable to obtain supplies of war material in this country. I believe that the American people could end this war in 10 days by simply saying to the belligerents, "You shall receive no arms, no ammunition, no wheat, no corn, no flour, nothing from us that will enable you to keep this war up a single day longer." By supplying some of the belligerent nations with arms and food we are particeps criminis in the greatest slaughter of human beings the world has ever seen. Furthermore, we are inconsistent. With one hand we feed the Belgian orphans made by the war and with the other hand we manufacture and sell the things that will make orphans of another nationality. The President has discouraged the loaning of money to the belligerents, and he has indicated that he would prevent the exportation of submarines in parts to be assembled abroad. Now, what is the difference in helping a belligerent, either with money, with arms and ammunition, with submarines, or even with breadstuffs? We are helping him to the detriment of the other fellow, and that is all there is about it. We are not neutral and impartial, as we ought to be. For the very reason that Germany and Austria being unable to obtain supplies from us we should refuse these supplies to England and to France if we would be strictly neutral and impartial. If all the belligerents were able to obtain these supplies from us, then there might be an excuse for us to furnish these supplies.

While the war may help a few manufacturers and speculators in this country, while it may stimulate a few industries and provide employment for a very small part of our workmen, the war has caused us untold misery, and threatens even the peace of our people. With hundreds of thousands of workingmen idle in our large cities, owing to the war and to the eco-

nomical policies of the Democratic Party, we may at any time hear of serious bread riots. The war has caused far more factories to close than to open, and many more will close when their supply of raw material runs out. By refusing to sell arms and ammunition, breadstuffs, and gasoline to one group of belligerents we will shorten the war and help to bring about peace, thus giving again employment to our own people, and at the same time we will prevent starvation that stares many of our people in the face, on account of our exportation of breadstuffs. A wheat famine is to be expected, and with a wheat famine will come the bread riots. Now is the time for Congress to step in and protect our own people by prohibiting the exportation of breadstuffs as well as of ammunition and arms. In closing my remarks I may be permitted to quote from the writings of Mr. Edward T. Devine, one of the foremost social workers of the country. I fully agree with him, but I even go further than he does, as I said before. Mr. Devine writes:

We should cease to export munitions of war. It is not a question of what we have the right to do as neutrals under international law. No doubt Jefferson believed that we had a perfect legal right to export guns and ammunition, just as our bankers had a perfect right to disregard President Wilson's wishes and make loans to belligerent nations. We are not discussing whether any nation could properly demand that such exports cease. Can anyone deny that the manufacturers would have a right to cease to manufacture and sell to belligerents as the bankers declined to make loans? Can anyone deny that if public opinion demands it, we can by legislation forbid the exportation of arms and ammunition as Congress authorized the President to forbid such export to Mexico? Just as we had a right to repeal the Panama Canal tolls act, because it seemed to us better to err, if at all, on the side of interpreting our agreements to our own disadvantage rather than to run the risk of failing to keep them, so it is always open to us to do more than the letter of international law requires on the side of neutrality and peace.

The simple and appalling consideration which should control our decision is that if the cannon, armor plate, copper, powder, motor cars, and gasoline, with which the war is carried on, are supplied by this country, we are responsible for its continuance. We might easily find ourselves literally more responsible for it than any nation engaged on the battle field. If American capital comes to have a large stake in the war, inevitably the American conscience will be seared, American eyes blinded, American influence for peace paralyzed, American judgment on the issues discredited, American neutrality a byword, American prayers for peace a blasphemy. It is said that it would have been very well if we had taken this position at the outset, but that to change our policy now would be taking sides against the nation which controls the seas. But has not that nation and her allies profited most by whatever part this country had in supplying war materials in the past six months? Are we to put no faith in the assurance of England, expressed through every channel of public opinion, that while she values our sympathy she does not ask us for material assistance? Is it true that the resources of England and her over-sea dominions, of France and Russia and their less powerful but by no means contemptible lesser allies are insufficient to carry on the war against Germany unless we furnish the arms and ammunition? If that is so, there is more force in the claim of superior German ability, as the friends of the allies are wont to admit.

It is not as if it were a question of the first few days or weeks of war when a peace-loving nation might be taken by surprise. Something might be said for coming directly to the rescue of such a people with loans of money, supplies of war materials, or even with an expeditionary military force. But the time for any such argument is past. Our motive in selling war supplies is of no such character. The Germans believe themselves to be fighting for national existence. The English declared war in support of treaty obligations, so they say. Americans at a safe distance, in cold blood, make fighting possible for cash alone, coining American brains and the strenuous toll of men, women, and children into a form fit only for destruction. If 1915 does not end the war, let it at least end America's ignoble part in it.

In such a policy the dictates of humanity are coincident with true national economic interest. No nation ever prospered in any real or lasting sense by diverting its industry into destructive and wasteful channels. What contributes to life and well-being is economically profitable and nothing else. Every dollar invested in the manufacture of rifles and ammunition for export to Europe under present conditions is a dollar of American capital worse than wasted. Every such dollar means death and wounds and devastation. Every such dollar, however it may proclaim a trust in God upon its lying face, is but the devil's own coin, cursing capitalist and laborer and middleman and customer. The end of industry is wealth, not profit or wages; more and better life, not export trade.

If this seem like idealism rather than economics, the argument may be pushed on a lower plane to the same end. We are facing financial and industrial uncertainty. Already the distress from lack of employment is serious and is likely to be much greater before it is less. The lack of available capital is the one certain and obvious cause of this condition. Capital put into the manufacture and distribution of fuel and food and clothing, into the provision of homes, of the necessities and comforts of life, is so invested as to relieve this condition. It is turned over rapidly and keeps industry healthily alive. Capital put into a city which is about to be burned to the ground is not more surely lost for every purpose of sound national economy than capital put into the manufacture of munitions of war for the foreign trade, especially when these are to be paid for by the sale of American securities at a sacrifice or by the issue of foreign governmental obligations.

The manufacture for sale in time of war indifferently to any buyer who may be able to carry away is on a par with the reckless manufacture and sale of bombs or poisons alike to the insane, to children, or to those bent on criminal acts. Slavery, brigandage, and piracy are comparatively respectable. But the manufacturers are not at fault above others. The bankers needed a lead from Washington. While this trade continues without condemnation or protest we are alike responsible.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the gentleman from Iowa if he has anyone to go on now?

Mr. HAUGEN. I have not.



Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. HAMLIN, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill H. R. 20415 and had come to no conclusion thereon.

#### ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 8 o'clock and 9 minutes p. m.) the House, under its previous order, adjourned to meet to-morrow, Saturday, January 23, 1915, at 11 o'clock a. m.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting with a letter from the Chief of Engineers reports on preliminary examination and survey of Minneapolis Harbor, Minn., with a view to increased harbor facilities, including a turning basin (H. Doc. No. 1512); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with illustrations.

2. A letter from the Acting Secretary of Labor, reporting an accumulation of papers in the Department of Labor not needed or useful in the transaction of current business, nor of historical value, asking authority for disposition of the same (H. Doc. No. 1513); to the Committee on Disposition of Useless Executive Papers and ordered to be printed.

3. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, submitting abstracts of proposals received during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1914, for materials and labor in connection with works under the Engineer Department; to the Committee on Expenditures in the War Department.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado, from the Committee on the Public Lands, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 19116) to grant certain lands to the city of Grand Junction, Colo., for the protection of its water supply, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1308), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (S. 2518) granting to the town of Nevadaville, Colo., the right to purchase certain lands for the protection of its water supply, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1309), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. SIMS, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 20933) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the Arkansas & Memphis Railway Bridge & Terminal Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Mississippi River at Memphis, Tenn.," approved August 23, 1912, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1310), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

#### CHANGE OF REFERENCE.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 20939) granting an increase of pension to Charles Black; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 20837) granting a pension to John C. Rowland; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 19868) granting a pension to Anderson M. Beck; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 20706) granting a pension to Maud S. Hayes; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

#### PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BORLAND: A bill (H. R. 21121) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River near Kansas City," approved June 17, 1914; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FERRIS: A bill (H. R. 21122) to validate certain homestead entries; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BROCKSON: A bill (H. R. 21123) for the relief of the estate of John R. Black, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 21124) for the relief of George E. Megee and others; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 21125) for the relief of Georgia Hallman and Margaret J. Tyson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BULKLEY: A bill (H. R. 21126) to authorize the change of name of the steamer *General Garretson* to *S. H. Robbins*; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. CARY: A bill (H. R. 21127) granting a pension to Veronica Werner; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DUPRÉ: A bill (H. R. 21128) granting a pension to Edmond Harvey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HELVERING: A bill (H. R. 21129) granting an increase of pension to Athel House; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 21130) granting an increase of pension to Collins Washburn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 21131) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of William B. Stanford; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KAHN: A bill (H. R. 21132) for the relief of the estate of Rudolf Axman, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 21133) granting a pension to Ryan V. Eichelberger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 21134) granting an increase of pension to John Campbell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PAIGE of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 21135) granting a pension to Sarah A. Farnsworth; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SLEMP: A bill (H. R. 21136) granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Turner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER (by request): Memorial of Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, Walnut Grove Methodist Episcopal Church, Topeka, Kans., favoring the passage of the Gillett resolution relative to abolishing slavery in the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. AVIS: Resolution of members of Norodovia Polsky Society, Group No. 838, of the Polish Alliance of West Virginia, and of Wolnosoc Society, Group No. 1070, of the Polish Alliance of West Virginia, protesting against the passage of the Smith-Burnett immigration bill; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BAILEY: Petition of Local Union No. 1848, United Mine Workers of America, Saxman, Pa., favoring Kern-Foster bill, to establish experiment mining stations; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

By Mr. BARTHOLDT: Petition of Pride of the West Lodge, No. 308, of the International Association of Machinists, of St. Louis, Mo., in favor of an investigation by the Government of affairs of the Wabash Railroad Co.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petitions of Evangelical Zion's congregation, of Des Peres; of Missouri State League of German Catholics; of Robert Kiessling, P. A. Schulze, and E. N. Schluer, all of St. Louis; of S. Buckmueller, of Wellston; of Claus Luehrs, of Blackburn, all in the State of Missouri; and M. G. W. Aurora, of Newark, N. J., favoring observance of strict neutrality by the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petitions of Federation of Evangelical Brotherhood of St. Louis, Mo.; German-American Association of St. Petersburg, Fla.; German-American Alliance of Los Angeles, Cal.; Pueblo German and Austrian Widows' and Orphans' War Sufferers As-



sociation, of Pueblo, Colo.; German-American State Alliance of Kentucky, Covington, Ky.; St. Anthony Branch of Catholic Union; State League of Missouri, of St. Louis, Mo.; Macalester College Alumni Association, of St. Paul, Minn.; Charles Uhden, Karl Hesse, Carl Medrow, and J. A. Reshoff, of Spokane, Wash.; A. M. Toboczypf, of Cleveland, Ohio; University of Minnesota, of Minneapolis, Minn.; St. Agatha Branch of Catholic Knights of America, of St. Louis, Mo.; J. Flottmann, of Ferguson, and 23 citizens of St. Louis, Mo., in favor of bill prohibiting the manufacture and sale of arms and munitions of war to the belligerent nations of Europe; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BEAKES: Petitions of Jacob Laubengayer and 16 citizens of Ann Arbor; William F. Wegner and 82 citizens of Riga; Louis Andres, of Waltz; and 52 citizens of Wayne County, all in the State of Michigan, protesting against the export of munitions of war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BURKE of South Dakota: Petitions of sundry citizens of Aberdeen, Delmont, Hazel, Hecla, Hoven, Orient, Redfield, Seneca, Turton, and various towns in Codington and Deuel Counties, S. Dak., favoring House joint resolution 377; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BURKE of Wisconsin: Resolutions passed by the Stadtverband, of Portage, Wis., representing 102 members and signed by A. Zienert, president, and J. Schnell, secretary, asking for the passage of a resolution at this session to enable the President to levy an embargo upon all war material, excepting foodstuffs only; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of E. G. Strassburger and 204 other citizens of Cedarburg, Wis., asking for the passage at this session of House joint resolution 377, to prohibit the sale or exportation from this country to European countries now at war of war material; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of G. R. Rousseau and 62 other citizens of Theresa, Wis., asking for the passage at this session of House joint resolution 377, to levy an embargo upon and prohibit the exportation from this country of war material to the European countries now at war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CARY: Petition of Common Council of Cudahy, Wis., favoring civil-service retirement bill; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, petition citizens of Wauwatosa, South Milwaukee, and Cudahy, Wis., favoring House bill 5308, to tax mail-order houses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of A. F. Kurth, Henry Groth, Ram Stuart, Robert Plogt, Mrs. Mayer, Herman Mittag, Ole Olsen, Bruno Arndt, Edward Paulus, August Tetschler, and 192 others, all residents of Milwaukee, Wis., urging the passage of House joint resolution 377; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CLARK of Florida: Petition of W. B. Rodgers and other citizens of Miami, J. J. Oetjen and other citizens of Gotha, and H. Falk and other citizens of Delray, Fla., favoring bill forbidding export of arms; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. COPLEY: Resolutions adopted by Branch No. 52, St. Hedwig's Society, of Downers Grove; Magdalene Society, of Joliet; and Polish National Alliance, of Aurora, all in the State of Illinois, protesting against the enactment of the proposed immigration restrictions requiring educational tests; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. DALE: Petition of W. G. Taylor, of New York City, against Fitzgerald amendment to the Post Office appropriation bill; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. DILLON: Petitions of citizens of Flandreau and Hartford, S. Dak., favoring passage of House joint resolution 377, relative to export of munitions of war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. DONOVAN: Petition of citizens of Danbury, Conn., favoring House joint resolution 377, to forbid export of arms; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ESCH: Petition of A. H. Buelow and 57 other citizens of Loganville, Wis., urging passage of House joint resolution prohibiting export of munitions of war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of Albert Stroota and 43 other citizens of Abbot'sford, Wis., protesting against allowing the Menace the privileges of the mails; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. GERRY: Petitions of Rev. Leroy L. Daniels, of Providence, R. I., urging the passage of the Palmer-Owen bill; to the Committee on Labor.

Also, petitions of Arthur Carney, Patrick J. Burke, John J. Shanley, Thomas M. Casey, and Herbert F. Croghan, of Providence, R. I., urging protection for Catholics in Mexico; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GILMORE: Petition of Polish National Alliance, of Brockton, Mass., against Smith-Burnett immigration bill; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. GOEKE: Petition of William N. Emch and 38 others, of Fort Recovery, Ohio, favoring passage of House joint resolution 377, to prohibit export of munitions of war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GORDON: Petition of citizens of Cleveland, Ohio, favoring passage of House joint resolution 377, to prohibit export of war material; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of board of trade, village council, and citizens of Put in Bay Island, Lake Erie, Ohio, and the George Worthington Co., of Cleveland, Ohio, protesting against the passage of the seamen's bill in its present form; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. KAHN: Papers to accompany the bill for relief of estate of Rudolf Axman; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island: Petitions of Thomas M. Casey, Herbert F. Croghan, and James J. Daly, of Providence, protesting against treatment of Catholics in Mexico; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. KONOP: Petitions of citizens of the ninth congressional district of Wisconsin, favoring the passage of House joint resolution 377, to prohibit export of war material; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. LOBECK: Petition from 251 citizens of Pender, Nebr., indorsing the Hitchcock bill for prohibiting the shipment of arms and ammunition to the warring countries of Europe; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of citizens of Papillion, Springfield, Fort Crook, Benson, and South Omaha, Nebr., and the German Farmers' Mutual Fire Insurance Co., of Douglas County, Nebr., favoring bill to prohibit export of arms; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of 189 citizens of Omaha, Nebr., favoring civil-service retirement bill; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. LONERGAN: Petition of Stanislaw Cendrowski, New Britain, Conn., and J. B. Kulas, of Suffield, Conn., protesting against the Smith-Burnett immigration bill (H. R. 6060); to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. NEELY of West Virginia: Papers to accompany House bill 16432, for the relief of Francis M. Hockenbery; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. J. I. NOLAN: Petitions of sundry citizens of San Francisco, Cal., favoring the passage of House joint resolution 377, to prohibit export of war material; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. O'HAIR: Petition of citizens of Kankakee, Danforth, and Crescent City, Ill., favoring House joint resolution 377, to place an embargo on contraband of war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. PAIGE of Massachusetts: Petition of citizens of Clinton, Mass., favoring passage of bill prohibiting export of munitions of war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. STEENERSON: Petition of citizens of Perham, Dent, and Bluffton, Minn., favoring House joint resolution 377, to forbid export of arms; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. VOLLMER: Petitions of 13 citizens of Muscatine, Iowa, and 1,032 American citizens, favoring bill to prohibit export of war material; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WALLIN: Petitions of German Evangelistic Synod of Amsterdam and the German Catholic Society of Schenectady, N. Y., favoring House joint resolution 377, relative to export of munitions of war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SATURDAY, January 23, 1915.

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Ancient of Days, our God and our Father, before whom kings, peasants, the rich, the poor of all ages have prostrated themselves, seeking consolation, hope, and guidance, so we come in all faith and confidence, praying for the uplift of Thy spirit to guide us on our way, that we may serve Thee in whatsoever our hand findeth to do. In the spirit of the Master. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I call up from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 19422) making appropriations